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Portrait of Thomas L. Kane

THE PRIVATE PAPERS AND DIARY OF
THOMAS LEIPER KANE

A
FRIEND
OF
THE
MORMONS

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WITH AN INTRODUCTION AND EDITED BY
OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

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CONTENTS

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Thomas Leiper Kane by Oscar Osburn Winther page v

PART ONE

<i>How the Mormons were driven from Nauvoo in 1846</i>	1
<i>Nauvoo after the Mormons had been forced to leave</i>	6
<i>Kane's trip to join the Mormons near Council Bluffs</i>	11
<i>Nauvoo following the Mormon exodus in 1846</i>	17
<i>Letter of R. B. Mitchell to T. H. Harvey</i>	19
<i>Letter of T. H. Harvey to Hon. Wm. Medill</i>	20
<i>Letter of Brigham Young to Commander at Fort Leavenworth</i>	21
<i>Document of H. J. W. Edes, M.D., relating to Kane's illness</i>	23
<i>Mormon loyalty to the United States</i>	24
<i>Letter of T. H. Harvey to Hon. Wm. Medill</i>	25
<i>Kane's Report on the Mormons in 1847</i>	30
<i>Kane pleads for protection of Mormon refugees</i>	35
<i>Letter of T. L. Kane to Hon. William Medill</i>	37
<i>Letter of W. Medill to Hon. W. L. Marcy</i>	39
<i>Letter of W. Medill to Major Thomas Harvey</i>	45
<i>Letter of W. Medill to Judge J. K. Kane</i>	47
<i>Letter of T. L. Kane to President Polk</i>	48
<i>Letter of T. L. Kane to Horace Greeley</i>	54
<i>Letter of Brigham Young to T. L. Kane</i>	59

PART TWO

<i>Diary of T. L. Kane</i>	65
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THOMAS LEIPER KANE: FRIEND OF THE MORMONS
BY OSCAR OSBURN WINTHER

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I

ONE of our great American traditions is the freedom of the frontier and its part in the development of social and political democracy in the United States. It is often said that out on the western fringe of settlement one man was considered no better than another, that every one was equal before the law and in the opinion of his fellows until he gave proof of his worth or lack of ability. There was, however, at least one group of pioneers, the Mormons, whose story does not fit into this general picture. The peculiar social practices and religious beliefs to which they subscribed forced those people to wait many years before they were recognized as belonging to the American social body. In the meantime they had to endure persecution and were buffeted about from one place to another. The story of the trials and ultimate success of the Mormons, more correctly known as members of the Church of Jesus Christ of the Latter Day Saints, is of special interest and significance for historical research.

The organization of the Mormon Church was one of the manifestations of the emotional and social unrest in the United States during the early part of the nineteenth century. Joseph Smith had a vision, and, like all inspired prophets, was not content to hide his light under

a bushel, but set out to convert the world. It is well known how Smith, the originator of the new sect, was supposed to have been visited by an angel of the Lord in 1823 and seven years later published the BOOK OF MORMON, based upon the Golden Plates revealed to him by celestial power. The Church, founded in New York state, did not attract many adherents until Smith moved west to the new Campbellite settlement of Kirkland, Ohio. But nowhere could the members of the new faith find peace. The followers of Joseph Smith became hapless wanderers who finally found refuge in the western desert. Forced to leave Kirkland, the Mormons went to Missouri, then recrossed the Mississippi to Nauvoo, Illinois, an abandoned village located near the mouth of the Des Moines River. Unfortunately they became involved in state politics, and in 1844 were the cause of riots which resulted in the death of Joseph Smith. Two years later, after being evicted from Nauvoo, the Mormons crossed the Mississippi once more, this time in mid-winter. They moved on to the country of the Pottawattamie Indians from whom they gained permission to establish temporary quarters near Council Bluffs. Brigham Young, the new leader, encouraged his followers to push west. They reached the shores of the Great Salt Lake in the summer of 1847. And near this desert lake they founded a community destined to become vigorous and thriving.

II

Although the persecution of the Mormons did not arouse the American people as a whole, scattered champions of their cause occasionally appeared. Such a one was Thomas Leiper Kane, selections from whose manuscripts are presented here. He was the son of John Kintzing Kane, a prominent federal judge, and the brother of Elisha Kent Kane, the famous Arctic explorer. He attended school in Philadelphia, where he was born on January 27, 1822. Kane travelled in England

and France while still quite a young man. In Paris he met the great philosopher, Auguste Comte. Law was to be Thomas Kane's profession. After his admission to the bar in 1846, he was given a clerkship under his father. The same year Elder Jesse Little of the Mormons called on Judge Kane in Philadelphia. Little was going to Washington to seek aid for his people in their long trek to Utah. Young Thomas Kane's humanitarian interests at once caused him to decide to start west, after he heard the Elder's story, to help the unfortunate refugees then living temporarily on the banks of the Mississippi River. Law was forgotten, at least for the time being.

The accompanying letters and reports, now published for the first time (with minor exceptions) tell the story of Kane's journey of 1847. They include an account of a trip on horseback across the open prairie, of experiences on a river steam-boat, as well as a vivid description of ill-fated Nauvoo and of the Mormon encampment in the Pottawattamie country. The notes also reveal some of the backstage transactions of the federal officials, especially those of the War Department, who had to cope with the problem of the Mormons. Kane's own interests and sympathies did not prevent him from making a painstaking effort to tell the truth as he saw it in his letters to officials and others.

Young Kane still retained his clerkship after his return to Philadelphia and also served as one of the United States commissioners in eastern Pennsylvania. He was always primarily interested in humanitarianism, however, and soon turned his attention to abolition, a cause which he first supported by writing articles to help spread information and arouse enthusiasm, and later by becoming an active agent of the Underground Railroad. From 1848 to 1850 he served as chairman of the Free Soil State Central Committee of Pennsylvania.

In the meantime, Kane had not forgotten the Mormons. In March, 1850, he spoke before the Pennsylvania Historical Society, presenting

an address which afterward appeared in book form. A few years later Thomas Kane performed a great service to his country in conciliating the Mormons, a service for which he was long held in grateful esteem by Brigham Young and other leaders of the Latter Day Saints.

III

President Buchanan, after appointing Alfred Cumming governor of the Utah territory in July 1857, soon ordered United States troops, accompanied by the new governor, to leave for Utah. But neither Cumming nor the soldiers were acceptable to Brigham Young and his people. The first move of Buchanan's appointee was to declare the Mormon community in a state of rebellion; in the spring of 1858 a seemingly inevitable clash between the federal troops and the Mormon militia was prevented by the timely arrival of Thomas Kane at Salt Lake City. Realizing that the results of such an encounter would be disastrous, Kane offered to serve the United States Government, late in the fall of 1857, as special agent to the Mormons, and, carrying instructions from President Buchanan, sailed from Philadelphia for the West by way of Panama early in January, 1858. He crossed the isthmus on the newly constructed railroad, boarded a steamer on the Pacific for San Francisco, where he re-embarked for San Pedro. From this port Kane set out on horseback to cross the San Bernardino desert and finally reached the Mormon capital on February 25th. Almost exhausted by his hard journey, the President's emissary at once called upon his old friend Brigham Young, prevailing upon him to avert bloodshed by accepting the orders of the Government of the United States. Kane, encouraged by this success, hastened on to the high mountains where the federal troops were spending a terrible winter at Camp Scott. Governor Cumming was also willing to listen to a mediator. On April 12th he and Kane entered Salt Lake City on

foot. Four days later the Governor and Brigham Young met for the first time, and on April 24th a "final and decisive" interview took place of which Thomas Kane wrote in his diary: "I am and know myself to be happy." In his annual message to Congress the following December, Buchanan paid tribute to the zeal of his agent to the Mormons: "I cannot refrain from mentioning the valuable services of Colonel Thomas L. Kane, who from motives of pure benevolence, and without any official character or pecuniary compensation, visited Utah during the last inclement winter for the purpose of contributing to the pacification of the territory."

IV

A considerable part of Kane's two volume pocket-size diary to which reference has already been made is published here. These little books contain "confidential entries for my dear wife" (almost all jotted down on the journey from Philadelphia to Salt Lake City) and consist for the most part of descriptions of things seen on the way, with only an occasional word on his mission to the Mormons.

V

Although Thomas Kane remained an active philanthropist to the end of his life, his efforts in behalf of the Mormons practically ceased after 1858. He gained some prominence in the Civil War through raising a regiment of hunters and loggers known as the "Bucktails" and was made their colonel. Kane later became a brigadier-general and distinguished himself at Chancellorsville, but in November 1863, disabled from wounds and exposure, he resigned his commission, returning home to the town he had founded in northeastern Pennsylvania. Kane belonged to the American Philosophical Society and to many other organizations. He was the author of three books, *The Mormons* (1850),

Cohuila (1857), and Alaska (1865). This man who had been a true friend to the Mormons died on December 26, 1883, at the age of sixty-one.

The original documents upon which this little book is based are to be found in the Library of Stanford University. I wish to express my deepest appreciation to Dr. Nathan Van Patten, librarian, for granting me permission to edit the Kane manuscripts and submit a selection from them for publication.

DEPARTMENT OF HISTORY

STANFORD UNIVERSITY, CALIF.

PART ONE



THE MORMON EXODUS
BEING THE PRIVATE PAPERS OF
THOMAS LEIPER KANE

★

AN ACCOUNT OF HOW THE MORMONS WERE
DRIVEN FROM NAUVOO IN 1846.*

★

IN the Mormon persecution conventions of various kinds have been a favorable mode of procedure. Sometimes these have been concluded under the auspices of various offices of government but they have in every case as might be expected been broken by the stronger party which being only a mob though it appointed its representatives, gave no guaranty for its own performance. They all served however the purpose of disarming and enfeebling the weaker contractors. In pursuance of one of these it was, that the Mormon leaders promised to abandon their homes with a considerable portion of their followers, on condition that those who remained should be undisturbed and have full liberty to make sale at leisure of the property belonging to the community. A disposition to fresh outbreak which it was hoped was caused by impatience, led to the departure of the former before the time for which they were prepared and they set out upon their journey before the end of winter. Early in the month of February there had crossed the river Mississippi, many of them in waggons upon the ice, a party numbering several thousand and begun their travel westward. They were resolute of purpose but little expected how much they had before them. Owing to the haste in which their departure was made their preparations were unequal to meet the exigencies

*From a manuscript by Kane. Part of the material in this document and the one following is in a brochure, *The Mormons*, privately published by the author in 1850.

It will be noticed that many words are misspelled and that the punctuation is not always correct. Only where the meaning is obscure have corrections been made.

of their journey. It required time to make such an expenditure of their small stock of money as would furnish them with what they indispensably needed. On the contrary however so little time was allowed them, that they were obliged to sacrifice their property to a ruinous extent, to obtain any money at all. I do not speak of real estate only though I have seen a good house which was sold at this time for a cow; but of apparel, articles of house furniture, bedding and the other moveables which were sold at prices which made the fortune of small speculators. A man showed me a superb English gold watch of the most costly kind which he had obtained at this time for a yoke of oxen and in another instance I was told of part of a family table service which was a fine specimen of the filegree work of the last century sold for the weight of its silver along with its companion pieces. The families best prepared therefore were in want of almost the essentials of life; their tents were of the most miserable kind and in fact everything else whose office was to cover and shelter them. (They had not even made proper arrangements to secure themselves their supply of food and . . . were the more sensible therefore to exposure.) Upon what is called the big prairie over which their course lay and on which nothing above the grass breaks the free course of the biting winds from the North and the great lakes, wood is often difficult to obtain and the comfort of a campfire not to be had. It will not be wondered at then, that the sufferings of this body gave them to use their own phrase a very good idea of those of the exiles travelling to Siberia. During the month of February and those which followed before the warm season, the weather was more than ordinarily inclement. As one said to me, "it frozed hard everything except the snow and that would *not* freeze hard." The suffering from cold may be imagined. If nothing else, the less vigorous constitutions were dangerously

frost-bitten, while many of the stoutest men were by the same visitation rendered lame and unable to walk. The animals of draught employed suffered no less; they of course were without shelter and were without wholesome food; as the farmers of Iowa refused to sell their corn to Mormons unless at such exorbitant prices as they were unable to pay. The prairie straw was fit for nothing at this season and the poor beasts who in many cases found with difficulty their supply of water in the frozen rivulets with which that part of Iowa nearest Nauvoo is anything but bountifully supplied, had to rely for their principal food upon the *browse* as it is called, or bark and tender buds of the cottonwood and other stunted trees of the prairie hollows. Add to this an insufficient provision of food was made for the human beings also on the expedition and it will be seen that there was enough in such extremity to terrify the bravest of them. Yet it is a memorable fact that the women some of whom bore their new-born infants at the breast were least of all danted and discouraged; on the contrary they exhorted to the discharge of their duty the men when faint hearted and with cheerful hope bade them always to look forward to the coming of the spring. . . .

These were dreary waitings upon Providence indeed. The spirits of the people seem to have flagged more on such occasions than at any others for it seemed that the most energetic without work set before them were most apt to suffer from their forced inactivity. It was at this time too that most sickness prevailed. The most hearty went about bent with the rheumatism and the old persons and children died in greater numbers than during the coldest of the winter and what was worse the women who had been the most cheerful & heroic & who had helped sustain the courage of the stoutest. . . . mankind however are able to take great comfort from

each other when they have their suffering in common. The Mormons too emulate the fraternization of the primitive Christians who are their models for imitation and in their extremities have often found their account in it. Through all their tribulation however they had one great consolation besides—this was the thought of the important respite they were gaining for their friends in Nauvoo. It is hard to believe that they had not been out more than two months before this was cut off from them. The Anti Mormons violated their “last solemn agreement” and again began hostilities, and it was apparent that nothing but a general emigration forthwith would satisfy them. The Mormons at Nauvoo also were therefore obliged to commence their flight & it became necessary that the body which we would designate as the *advance* containing those chief in authority in the church, should halt in its march to afford counsel and comfort to the new fugitives. While they did so, the spring opening permitted them to employ the time required for the purpose in breaking up the wild ground and sowing some of the grain which they carried with them. There are now to be found as proofs of this industry two farms in the remote indian country called Garden Grove & Mt. Pisgah, having between them from 1000 to 1200 acres and under excellent cultivation. Subsequent emigrants have attended to these farms and they are in a very flourishing condition, giving support to at least 200 families who are lodged in substantial log cabins of their own construction.

Though the Anti-Mormons pressed hard at this time at Nauvoo they were kept off in a measure until May. The time thus gained strange as it may seem, was employed chiefly in work upon the temple, they were determined to consecrate it to God before their departure at the time of Mormon pride when Nauvoo was in its glory, it was the object of their ingrossing thought. It was the injunc-

tion of Joseph Smith the martyr to have builded and through him was revealed the plan, besides all had worked for it and it was the building of all and it had come to be loved by them with a passion in which the love of an artist for his fair creation was mixed with such a semi idolatry as could find no parellel except that of the Jews towards their temple. Each man giving tithe of his labour, each woman furnishing her contribution, the marble walls, the graceful spire, the whole edifice arose proudly from the ground. No emergency had stoped the progress of its construction in the days of past calamity and they esteemed it worth some danger and sacrifice now to secure its completion. The mob as I have said pressed hard all this time. . . .

It was thus in the month of May that the next great mass of fugitives left Nauvoo and it may show the difficulties in common by those who preceded them that both bodies reached the Missouri at nearly the same time; these being for the only difference between them that the pioneers were more weatherbeaten and had lost a much greater number by death. They were occupied for four months upon their journey of about four hundred miles for the month of June was far advanced when the first family of them came in sight of the great river.

★

A FIRST HAND PICTURE OF NAUVOO
AS IT LOOKED SHORTLY AFTER THE MORMONS
HAD BEEN FORCED TO LEAVE THAT ONCE
PROSPEROUS SETTLEMENT IN 1846

★

I PROMISED to give you an account of Nauvoo, the city of alternate mysticism and sorrows, and I am about to fulfil my promise as far as my late hasty visit has supplied [me] with materials. It is beautifully situated on a tongue of land, which is formed by a bend of the Mississippi, immediately above its first rapids. It occupies the entire slope or cone, the forest being eat away in a wide semi-circle which forms a sort of back ground to the picture. The houses are almost all of them brick, built in the New England style, neat as well as substantial, surrounded by garden plats; so that every dwelling has the character of a snug country residence, with more marks of simple taste and refinement than you meet along your high roads in Pennsylvania, and without any of that unfinished temporary *makeshift* appearance that characterises the new settlements of the West. The site of the town includes a space of about three miles by two & a half the whole of which is at the present time covered by houses and gardens, such as I have described. At the point of the cone surmounting this broad and well defined area of bright buildings and green court-yards, towers the spire and magnificent cell of the Mormon temple high above the wooded horizon, and radiant in marble and gilding. This is the great landmark of the region, facing itself on

your notice at the distance of twenty miles around. It is of a fantastic order of architecture approaching the Tuscan in its essential features, but borrowing decorations from all the rest, and combining them with insignia of the Mormon faith. It is an immense pile, I should judge scarcely less than two hundred feet in length, and about a hundred broad. The walls are of solid marble, the only specimen that I remember of such extravagant outlay of that material, except at your Girard College, Joseph Smith having been as careful of his direction in this particular as your wealthy Philadelphia. They are relieved by bold pilasters; the capitals of which are carved so to represent the sun with some quaint emblems that I could not understand, and the bases in like manner with devices of the Moon. All the features of the architecture are bold and effective and the height which I should suppose to be more than eighty feet to the line of the cornice, is well sustained by the character of the mass. I cannot undertake to describe the steeple, though I found my way as near the top of it as I could; it probably arises some two hundred feet above the ground, and commands one of the most beautiful prospects I ever saw. Round the town, over a area of some twenty or thirty miles to the South and East, lie the Mormons farms occupying some of the richest soil in Illinois. It seems to have been the policy of the founders of that sect, to collect the people into the circle of the town as much as possible, and the farms in the more immediate neighbourhood were titled by the inhabitants of Nauvoo. Those more distant had their homesteads however which dotted the prairie as far as the eye could reach.

Taking Nauvoo and its adjoining region as one, I never saw more abundant proofs of intelligent industry and quiet domestic thrift than were presented by the appearance of these houses and

farms. It was evident that this was the well considered beginning of a prosperous and to all appearance permanent community. Ropewalks, boat yards, smith shops, tanneries, all the marks of mechanical skill and enterprize were in the town. The farms were large and well enclosed, well cultivated, beyond any, that I had met in that portion of the West: and when I saw them they were absolutely groaning under the weight of their neglected harvests.

It is strange to see in a country of improvement like our own so fair a region marred and desolate. At present, the farms which I have spoken of are entirely abandoned the crops rotting on the ground and their young orchards broken down. The fruit of these has been taken off before its time having been plucked by passers by and not by those who planted them. The precinct having been ravaged little livestock is to be found in it: but on the outskirts of the Mormon settlements there are to be found some who belonging to Anti-Mormons have adopted Anti-Mormon principles and it is an ill sight to see them; pigs & cattle, feeding fat upon the neglected corn & wheat fields. A no less saddening spectacle than the blighted country is the city which has shared the same fate. Its streets are as quiet as the fields, and its gardens as fast running to waste. Grass has not yet grown up in the former, the marks of recent life are along them as everywhere: the blocks of stone half carved, the planks half shaped by the carpenter, the water horn in the blacksmith's shop, the fresh tan in the vat, the dust of old footsteps even, are still to be seen; but near them there is perfect quiet. There has been desertion, and there is no cause shown to explain why it has been.

Is one urged by a western man's habit to look if there has been a change in the current of the river, he finds that there is still the same deep channel round the bend and close in shore which makes

of Nauvoo the best steamboat landing of the region. No alteration of any geographical feature near has taken place, to cause even a diminution of the prosperity of the place, much less to produce its sudden abandonment. For as I have said the signs of recent life are everywhere, and scarcely rust or mildew shows that the town has languished any time. The stranger visiting the graveyard in which the dead of the late inhabitants have been buried and which says that they had friends & relatives among other things to leave behind them, finds the ink fresh & black in the lettering of some of the tomb stones and the sod new and dry yet on some of the mounds. Hard by this spot however he sees the battered walls and ruins of a large number of houses and he best learns from his guide an explanation of the mystery of silentness which sits a spell on every thing. There, he is told, the Anti-Mormon closed a war of two years and a half upon the owners of the City by a decisive battle. They fired upon this spot as it is said nearly a ton of cannon balls and though they were repulsed, soon brought their opponents to surrender. Five days they allowed in a convention which they made with the inhabitants for an evacuation by them of the City; before this time elapsed they discovered its defenders to be more greatly inferior to them in numbers than they had supposed and that it was in their power to compel their immediate departure. They therefore, in face of their convention expelled them forthwith, using considerable violence for that purpose.

Hence the signs witnessed by me of recent abandonment. The conquered people had gone, without time to make a decent farewell to their abodes, some driven away without any of their means along with them, some delaying expelled in the night. Many had gone up the river Mississippi, many had floated down but more had crossed the river, on their road to join some of their friends who

had done the same thing before them, and were now several months march out in the wilderness. Of these last I found that as many as six or seven hundred still remained upon the opposite shore, being those too sick or too poor to be able to proceed further; and these are the persons who have attracted the commiseration of some travellers who have seen their rude encampment there. They have been reduced to great straits of wretchedness, from their extreme poverty and the exposure to which they have been subjected, and I have seen letters in several journals making mention of their sufferings in a moving manner. Their temporary situation upon a great highway has been of service in bringing them under public notice.

It is not probable however that the sufferings of these persons are in degree or extent greater than those of some of their brethren so called, who are further advanced than they upon their road Westward. The only material difference that perhaps can be found in their circumstances is that they have been within the reaches of sympathy whereas their associates have removed themselves at the same time beyond it and the pale of civilization. Some curiosity has been evidenced to know the precise whereabouts of these suffering wanderers. At no distant time I hope to be able to inform you fully of it. It is an interesting story theirs though a sorrowful one.



KANE WRITES HIS SISTER A LETTER
IN WHICH HE RELATES HIS ADVENTUROUS TRIP
WEST TO JOIN THE MORMON CAMP
NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS



*My darling Sister**

WHILE the flies and flees are biting me consentaneously in this the log hut of the American Fur Company, I sit down to manufacture you a letter at a hatchet-made rough table placed in the only corner of it upon which the driving rain does not beat. Do not mind the blots below they are atmospheric phenomena consequent upon extreme humidity—they will do to signify my dissatisfaction at being detained here by this storm when I want so much to push on to the Mormon Camp—seven or eight miles up the river. So—I am relieved by sight of my marks of indignation.

After writing last to Father & Mother, I continued on my road up the Missouri in the Amaranth. The heat continued the same and I continued my expression of gratitude to you for having kept me by special providence from encountering it on the bald prairie. Our last day we passed prairie and prairie on both sides the river—low & high—wooded & naked but beautiful all, and looking as much crying come and inhabit me as any damsel whose looks alone suggest to bystanders the propriety of commencing the compliment of kissing. The day after the night we lay aground I went with the boats officers to take a swim by the green full moon light. At first we made for one little sand bar whereon were found some

*From the original.

noisy little ducklings of the kind called wood duck which were cruelly run down & caught all. This seeming muddy, we moved for one in the middle of the channel—undressing in the boat, the swim was charming. It was a slight drawback that one man caught a catfish—the fact suggested unpleasant ideas of snakes and eels. We were two days coming from the place where the Neshnibotna comes within a hundred yards of the Missouri which is cutting into it yearly as with an instinct to shorten its path eight miles. By running all night only, it was that we reached table creek by Thursday morning.

What with difficulty of loading my horse and of packing and re-packing him—with necessity of going up to the Post or Camp Kearney where I saw Lieut. Prince and others—three log huts and a daring American flag flowing nobly from a hole on a block house—(a block house being a log house the upper half of which is in appearance turned one eighth of its way round from its natural facing, and pierced with slits only wide enough to let muskets, rats, and swallows through) I could not start till after ten o'clock. The sun was hot by this time, and therefore for a long while I anything [but] enjoyed myself. When the weather is hot one minds so much more the little worries of solitary prairie travel, besides that ones horse suffers and he suffers with him.

You who saw me at home where I lived my life so of one kind in a country where the division of labour left me only my one kind of work to do.—You who saw me only study—leaving all responsibility upon servants, tailors and tradespeople whether every thing was or was not well done, there did not along to this—pleased to say that I could not tie a shoestring—would laugh to see me doing now all my own work of every sort, and still more to know that I take cheerfully all the worries I at home most hated.

I started from Table Creek. The current was strong—my horse was crazy to drink — the oarsman at the stern of the ferry flat boat jerked his bridle to keep him from so doing. I was on the water side of him—he started and was only kept from falling in the river by my body and its strength. Of course I was in more danger than he. The people on board thought me in a great deal.

I made my third arrangement of my baggage—saddle bags some 20 pounds—blankets 20—bundle 5—rifle 10—umbrella & mosquito bars and got finally on my road. My horse was frisky from long confinement in the hot steamboat. I was a long time learning to steady my rifle in front and keep him from misbehaving at the same time,—the musquito bars fell off,—there was no place to hitch, I thought I was never to get up on to those bundles and my saddle.

The mosquitoes were very troublesome. I tried not to heed them in contemplation of the many butter & dragon flies and gossamers and gold & enamel grasshoppers that looked the mark of a cunning gold smith—which rose in a cloud before me. But when, after it became impossible to keep them from forming a crust on my horses neck—they were not content to aim at my face, but stung me through my gloves and pantaloons, I thought fit to get some branches to fasten to his bridle head piece. On getting down a cow scared him. I had to follow a half mile with my rifle before he would let me climb on him again. It *was* hot.

Indeed it was hot. My road lay through a prairie which itself lay between the wood of the river on the one side and grassy bluffs on the other. It was like a great yellow green lake and [even] more like a lake because the wind rippled and swelled its long grass in waves. Yet this same grass was generally—though it seemed only an exaggeration of our modest orchard grass—higher than my horses

head and I passed through it like the Israelites through the Red Sea. Of course little of the wind came to my nostrils.

The only water was in creeks that ran through the black earth in an unclean looking style. It was hot and brackish. Yet my horse always had to drink of it from them and we had to cross them. The bridges were funny traps. Each one had to be crossed on foot at a lead. It was not pleasant to dismount—nor sometimes to relay heavy logs that were out of place across them. Besides ones horse might break his leg after all.

So, he threatened to break his legs in some mires. One of these a regular “mudhole” was up to his belly and scared me as well as him. The noise of his efforts to get out made an alarming noise of suction.

Of course one’s feet must get wet.—Mine did by 12 o’clock. I was wet elsewhere already, with perspiration.

Still this was not enough. I was not to get through my grass Red Sea with only this wetting. The wind from the South grew fresher—clouds and darkness came to rest upon it—after enjoying a pillar of cloud for ten minutes there came on a rain that would have put out Moses’ pillar of fire. The rain fell not in drops but in torrents. I was fain soon to dismount, cover my rifle up in a thatch of the long grass still dry at the roots, and with Mammas umbrella and my horses’s belly shelter myself, my saddle bags and my blankets. The grasshoppers soon stopped singing—the mosquitoes diminished in number—the butterflies and gossamers must have all been drowned. By this time the sky opened clear and I rode on.

This you will think was certainly bore enough. On the contrary it was a Godsend. The air was cooled. I was enabled to keep steadily on my thirty odd mile journey to Point and Poules. Thus I saved a day, and thus I profited much by the circumstance. I wish

I could say the same of a subsequent one which—met, lost me, delayed me, and wearied my horse.

Would not all these little troubles when added to thrice as many others that I have not time to be tedious in detailing, have made me discontented at home. Bless me I have learnt to look upon them as matters of course. . . .

After my mid day rain, I rode refreshed through the pretty prairie. The steam rose from the ground under the sunshine heat, and the prairie bluff hills looming distant through it, looked like the charming islands of the Antilles in the Caribbean Sea. I rode on till four o'clock without meeting a soul except some select parties of masqueraders who may perhaps have intended to pass for real Indians and therefore, I suppose, pretended not to understand any questions I put to them; and without meeting a house except that of one Macpherson who was philanthropically playing the Indian Missionary by educating a large family of half breeds in a truly paternal manner. By this time I came in sight of the house where, but for the rain, I intended passing the night. A large herd of *horses* and cattle—a queer *mixed* sight to me, were grazing on the prairie near it. It was of squared logs, had two rooms on the floor and was whitewashed. There was so much sign of decent life about it that I turned off my road, and crossed a 'mudhole', to give my horse a little rest and rest myself. No one noticed me as I came up. I saw some mulatto coloured young men & boys, and spoke to them but had no answer. I got off my saddle and walked to the house door and then was saluted by a roar of laughter and a chattering of an obscene loudness which showed me any quantity of girls & women in different directions. Really it required some courage to make up my own welcome after such a reception. Yet I was well treated. The Master of the House a portly coloured gentleman

half French half Potawottamie—unsaddling for me my horse—tying him in the grass with a lariatte and giving me a good glass of water not hotter than is usually used for the purposes of an emetic; while his daughter, a pretty creature with paupières baissées and a carriage of the waist that would have done honour to a Parisian grisette, hunting me up a sort of bread made apparently by wetting flour with water and adding some salt previous to warming & scorching it on the outside which was a most delicious morsel to my hungry palate.

I have no more time for my grand adventure of the day. A storm came on before sunset—There was a rainbow the most beautiful I have ever seen and then another storm, so violent that I sought shelter in what I thought a distant house. It was only a slide of a hillside but I lost my way before I found out the fact. Night closed on me. I was nearly mired. I had to lead my horse past many an obstacle. He became almost unmanageable through fear. The thunder annoyed even me by its violence. The rain wet me and everything I carried through. After a long vexation I thought myself safe when I came to some signs of habitation. It was only an Indian camp and the savages could not tell me my road. About nine o'clock I saw the reflection of the white sky in an unmistakable wagon rut—(which I next day found I had to thank the Mormon travellers for). I followed this, a little more than an hour, and then a light shone to me through some trees. It was the kitchen fire not yet gone out of the house where lodge some of Mr. Sarpis employés—I could write a page on the pleasure that light gave me—and another on that consequent upon a pair of good blankets in a safe asylum—even if the rain & wind beat into it a little.

Of all this I will tell you when I get home. This is my kind of every day life. I give you only a sample of it—with selvage.— Goodnight.

★

WHAT KANE SAW AT NAUVOO
IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING THE MORMON
EXODUS IN 1846*

★

I SAW on the Left Bank of the Mississippi a large and gay city which shone brightly in the sunshine as when I first . . . came in sight of it. Its houses were all new, mostly of a cheerful red brick with pretty garden plots around them—and a splendid marble building with gilded cupola rose above them all with the dignity of proud beauty. As I drew near I was surprised to see in this new city no sign of life.—No one appeared on the shore of the river—it was a pleasant morning and not nine o'clock yet but not a woman could be seen in any of the green gardens. I got out of my little boat in which I crossed from the Iowa side and everything was [so] still (there) that I heard the flies buzz and the river ripple on the shallow. After a little I thought I heard the sound of human voices—I listened and a minute after heard it repeat so clearly that I knew it to be the distant sound of boisterous laughter. Guided by my ferryman I went to whence it proceeded and found it made by a large number of drunken men who were carousing in the porch of the splendid marble building that I had noticed when I first drew near the spot. They had several jugs of strong waters of various kinds of which they were drinking heavily; inside also which proved to be the Mormon Temple others, like them were to be found . . . beastly intoxicated, who had much defiled it with

*A rough draft, parts of which are missing. This account may also be found in Kane, *The Mormons*.

their vomit & filth and I found the building so greatly defiled with their filth that much vomit was observable in the upper story of its steeple where orgies were not omitted. . . . In addition to these degraded beings, I beheld around and in the Temple—and in [the] house neighboring to it formerly called the House of Elder Orson Pratt and now the Guard House, many others who seemed their friends. Inebriety at least partial was evidently no stranger to their faces—they were armed to the teeth, and had beside rifles pistols & knives—muscats & cannon marked as property of the U. S. I was not without apprehension for my life when several of them for whose sobriety I would not now answer altercated violently with me because I had entered the Silent City without a passport from one of their leaders . . . whose description given by them failed answeribly in no respect [to] that of a bandit chief. They dismissed me however as I did not attempt to withstand their evil humour and left me free to wander where I wished. . . .

Things told very plainly the sad story of the Mormons. Here were their homes and their temple trampled [by] those who had driven them forth from them. It was plain how they had been hurried off in haste and without time to make their preparations. . . .

This was what I saw on the left bank of the Mississippi (namely the deserted and desecrated Temple city of Nauvoo).

★

THE MORMONS REACH THE MISSOURI RIVER

★

COUNCIL BLUFFS,*

SUB AGENCY JUNE 29. [1846]

Sir

SOME ten days ago a large number of that class of people called Mormons having arrived within the limits of this Sub-Agency *perhaps*, from 10 to 1200 wagons numbering from 5 to 8000 persons. I am gratified to say that since their arrival I have seen nothing to which exception could be taken. The Principal Men seem determined to hold themselves aloof from the Indians. They admit no intercourse after night particularly with Indians.

They complain that they have been badly treated but declare their intentions to bear the American flag, to whatever country they may cast their lot. They have built a large boat and will commence crossing the Missouri River this day. There is a great number of very poor people amongst who must undoubtedly suffer. They speak of spending the winter at the Grand Island on the Platte River. They have made two farms on their travel for the benefit of the poor who are coming on after them and I think likely one in the limits of this Sub Agency. Let me hear from you immediately,

Respectfully Sir Your Obt Serv't

(*Signed*) R. B. MITCHELL

Ind: Sub: Agent

TO T. H. HARVEY

Sub. Ind. Affair

*Copy.

★

GOVERNMENT POLICY IN REGARD TO THE
MORMON MIGRATION DISCUSSED

★

OFFICE SUP: IND: AFF: *
ST LOUIS JULY 13, 1846

Sir

I HAVE the honour to enclose a letter this day rec'd from Major Mitchell in relation to a large body of Mormons being in his Sub-Agency on their way Westward.

I have written to Mr M. that so long as they "conduct themselves with propriety" "and are only in the county on their passage to the west you will not in any way embarrass their Movements."

The Grand Island spoken of by Mr M. as the place they intend to winter is in the Pawnee Country in the Platte, or Nebraska, about 140 miles from the mouth, it is said to be about sixty miles long: how so large a body of persons are to winter there it is difficult to foresee.

A very large portion of the Mormons are doubtless objects of sympathy.

I have the honor to be sir most

Respectfully Your Obt Servt

T. H. HARVEY

Sup: Ind: Aff.

HON. WM. MEDILL

Comis Ind: Aff:

Washington City, D. C.

*Copy.

★

BRIGHAM YOUNG
SEEKS MEDICAL AID FOR KANE

★

*To Col Kearney, Capt Clary, Major Swords, or
whoever may be in command at Fort Leavenworth.**

Messer.

THE council of the church of Jesus Christ of Latter Day Saints writes you at this time, at the special request of Col. Thomas L. Kane, of Philadelphia, now lying dangerously ill at our camp, which is situated about 15 miles above the sub-agency of the Potawatamies, and Mr Larpy's trading post, on the west bank of the Mo. River.

Col Kane is unable to use his pen, and, being afflicted, as he supposes, with a nervous, billious fever, is very desirous of seeing Dr Londerson immediately, with such medicines as he may deem necessary, and will not impede his progress on the journey.

Should Dr Londerson not be at Lenw. Col Kearney or whoever may be in command at the Ft. is most strongly solicited by Col Kane to dispatch some medical officer, in whom they can place confidence, with the necessary medicines, sparing no time, or expense for change of horses, or breaking of carriages: and this becomes the more necessary, as we are so far from the settlements, and mostly destitute of medicines, beside our principle Surgeon is absent with the "Mormon Batallion," and the Col cannot have that council in our camp which is dissembled.

*This letter is a copy of the original countersigned by William Richards, clerk, with the remark that it is "a correct copy."

Col Kane has deposited with us all his available funds at this moment, to wit, \$100. Bank of Mo. and a note of bond, *good*, \$30. as surety for the expenses of the medical officer whom you may send in attendance, and contingent expences of the ride; but should the expences be much more, we are assured by Col. Kane that nothing will be wanting as soon as his draft can be answered: and from the high toned character and standing of his father, Judge Kane, we have the most perfect confidence in believing that every bill of expense attendant on the desired visit of your medical officer, will be covered at sight & with gratitude.

There are also other high and important considerations connected with Col Kane's visit to this place, and reasons of a peculiar nature, which we fully understand but not necessary to mention here, why we, as friends of the Col. would urge the immediate attendance of Dr Londerson, with whom Col Kane rode to Table Creek, and is personally acquainted, or, if that be impracticable, some adviser whom you may select; and we cannot too strongly urge a speedy and prompt action on your part, and that of your adviser, by every consideration that binds noble souls to each other, and tends to alleviate the great sum of human misery.

We shall dispatch this by express, enjoining a change of horses, and full speed.

Done in behalf of the council aforesaid, near
Council Bluff, Omaha Nation,
And Camp of Israel, Aug 10th 1846.

BRIGHAM YOUNG *Prest.*

★

KANE'S ILLNESS DIAGNOSED; TREATMENT
BY MORMONS

★

MY opinion is that the disease of Colonel Thomas T. Kane has been the violant Bilious Fever of this region; connecting itself seriously with the Nervous System. It is after the disappearance of this malady that an Intermittent Fever has supervened.

From my knowledge of the necessity of careful nursing, to a recovery from the discard I have specified in one of his constitution of body: from Colonel Kane's unmeasured assurances to me; and from what I myself have observed during my visit to this place, I have no hessitation in testifying to the devoted care and kindness with which he has been treated, by his friends the Mormon People. Throughout this camp, where I observe a spirit of harmony and a habit of good order—wonderful in so large an assemblage of people, I find that prevails towards him the warmest and most cordial benevolence of feeling.

H. J. W. EDES M.D., from Weston Mo.
Omahaw Country
Above Council Bluffs,
Aug 19, 1846.

(Superscription)

Given in my presence to Doct. Richards,
by Colonel Kane, Aug. 19 1846

H. J. W. EDES

A True Copy. w. RICHARDS

★

MORMON LOYALTY

TO UNITED STATES EXPRESSED BY A MEMBER

OF THE MORMON BATTALION

★

CAMPING GROUNDS, NOV. 12, 1846*

Col. T. L. Kane

Dr. Sir,

WE are now in Mexico only 60 miles from a place called Elpaso. . . . We will have to take the City by storm, the people tell us; but this no discouragement to our fellows but only extra cause of congratulation. There is nothing they have been longing for, so much as a chance to show in spite of the Illinois murderers and false witnesses their patriotism and love for the star spangled banner which makes a man homesick I tell you just to look at in these parts. You may depend upon it, Colonel, though I say it beforehand, you are going to hear what will make you proud of the *Mormon Battalion*. Every U. S. officer has seen us says there are no better drilled men in the Army and the General himself has spoken of us in a way that couldn't be beat. One thing I will say myself, and that is, I don't believe we have our equals at all events, in the matter of standing fatigue and hunger. . . .

We are hungry enough just now to rather have the town to take before dinner than wait till the day after to morrow which is the soonest we can get there, but by and large you may say we are as contented and happy as any men without their families, having two or three thousand miles walking Indian trails before them.

*From a copy by Kane.

★

THE MORMON ENCAMPMENT
NEAR COUNCIL BLUFFS IS DESCRIBED BY THE
SUPERINTENDENT OF INDIAN AFFAIRS

★

OFFICE SUPT. INDIAN AFFAIRS*
ST LOUIS DEC: 3RD 1846

Sir

WHILE at Council Bluffs I visited the Camp of Israel (Mormons). The camp as they call it, is situated on the South bank of the Missouri river 18 miles above Belview in the Omaha Country, upon a beautiful table land, rising I would judge about fifty feet above common water, running back about six hundred yards to the Bluffs, and extending down the river (as far as I could observe for a turn in the river) about $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles: the Bluff, or rather the high land rises beautifully above the table land. The camp is a regularly laid out town, embracing the width of the table land, and extending along the river a mile or more, a very considerable portion of the town is covered with linen tents and log cabins, some of the cabins had brick chimneys: from the quantity of timber being collected, I should presume they intended building up a log cabin town during the winter.

The object of my visiting their camp was to observe for myself that I might communicate to you what improvements they were making, believing from their character that a more correct conclusion may be drawn from their acts than their words.

*Copy.

Among the improvements that I observed was a water Mill in the immediate vicinity of the town, it was intended for an over-shot wheel, the timbers are of the most durable kind & every thing about it seemed to be done in the most workmanlike manner. I saw two pair of stoves from St Louis on the way up for the mill, a carding machine was already received. After passing partially around the town so as to be able to observe the extent of the improvements, I called on Mr Brigham Young, the "President of the High Council of the Camp of Israel," after some general remarks I observed to him that I was apprised that they had (the Mormons) authority to winter in the Pottawatamie Country, but I was not aware that they had authority from the Government to stop on the Omaha lands, but they might have authority that I knew nothing of, that I was apprised that they had written to the President: he replied that they had written to the President, but did not know whether he had found time to read their letters or not, I stated to him that I knew from my correspondence with you that his letters had been received & considered by the President, he then stated that when Capt Allen was among them raising Volunteers he gave them assurances that they would be permitted to remain in the Omaha Country (time not stated) but supposed from his sudden death that he did not make a report. I remarked that I knew of no authority that Capt Allen had, to give them permission to remain in the Indian Country: he replied he supposed that Capt A. had no more than he had spoke of the promptness of their people entering the Service of the United States upon the call of the Government, that many of them had left their teams on the road to enter the Service, that he had seen several teams driven by one man: that they could not go until the return of the Volunteers.

I asked him how long they expected to remain where they were, he replied until they got ready to go. I enquired how long it would take them to get ready, he did not know how long it might be 2, 3, or 4 Years.

I remarked to him, I supposed he knew that the country West of the States of Arkansas & Missouri & the Missouri river was set apart by the Act of Congress of 1830 exclusively for Indian purposes & that the government would not permit White people to settle on it, he replied that he did but did not know how long before it would be open for White settlements, seemed to think it might be in 3 or 4 years.

I told Mr Young that the Department in giving them permission to winter on the Pattowatamie land, did it with an understanding that the timber was not to be wasted. I informed him if he would visit the Potawatamie Subagency while I was there I would show him one of your letters which I thought I had with my papers. Mr. Y. did not come, but on the 5th day of November I received the enclosed note from the Council Marked A, a copy of my reply marked B. to the council (a copy of your letter of the 2d of Sept ulto. I sent by the messenger that brought me the letter of the Council is also enclosed.

It would be very difficult for me to form anything like a correct opinion of the number in the camp, but I do not think behazarding much to estimate it at 10,000.

If the object of the Mormons was simply to winter in the Indian Country it would certainly have been more convenient to have remained on the Potawatamie side in the bottom timber, where they would have been protected from the North wind, by the high lands, with good winter grazing for their stock, instead of moving over to the prairie, facing the North.

In the Pottowatamie country I saw some good substantial cabins being erected & some prairie broke by the Mormons. Many of the Indians have sold their improvements to them.

It is said that a number of the Mormons have [gone] into the N. West countries of Missouri, having seceded from the "Church." Many persons in the state however have no confidence in their profession of Secession, think it only temporary & intended to relieve them from prejudice while they remain in the state. There are at this time several hundred Mormons in the Puncah Country, where they will at least winter.

While I was at the Sub-Agency I heard nothing to the prejudice of the Mormons in their intercourse with the Ind's. Since my return however, I have received a letter from the Sub-Agent informing me that Peter Hawes, a Mormon, had been selling spirit in the Indn Country.

I am at a loss in forming an opinion in relation to the future movements of this, to say the least in reference to the Masses, deluded people, they say their intentions to cross the Mountains, if so, I cannot see any satisfactory reasons for their making on the Missouri, such substantial improvements. It may be that their object is to establish a chain of improvements to the Mountains, commencing on the Missouri, as resting points for their people in their emigration to the Pacific, or it may be that they hope to establish themselves on the Missouri, in the Omaha and Puncah Country.

I have endeavoured to give you an impartial detail of facts, without opinions, knowing that you will not need them in enabling you to arrive at correct conclusions.

Since my return to this place I have received a communication from the "Council" which is also enclosed. I do not deem it neces-

sary to make any further communication to them, until I hear from you.

I have the honor to be sir most

Respectfully Yr obt servt.

(Signed) TH. H. HARVEY

Supt Indn Affairs

HON: WM. MEDILL

Comr Indn Affairs

Washington

★

IN 1847 KANE REPORTED ON THE
NUMBER, CHARACTERISTICS, AND PERSECUTIONS
OF THE MORMONS

★

*Dear Sir**

I HAVE taken no pains to supply myself with accurate data concerning the Mormon People not immediately under the direction and subject to the temporal government of the Heads of the Church now in the wilderness. A party of unknown strength though certainly numbering very few hundred, which strayed away headed by one Lyman White, into the wilderness from Nauvoo in 1844 has found its way I am informed, into the country watered by the head tributary of the Arkansas, quite a considerable number are scattered through the Eastern and a few of the Western States. There are some as you are aware in California under the leadership of Samuel Brannan. In England the Baptismal Registry of the Church exhibits a Roll of about 35,000 professing members. There are also congregations in Canada and in more than one of the Islands of the Pacific. All these together may make the Orthodox Church of much over 40,000 souls. They *may* number less.

With regard, however, to those in direct communion with the Camp of Israel, my means of information are more reliable. They are scattered seemingly without order, through the unsettled country W. of Iowa, but, a census taken two months ago in round numbers, and not perhaps in the main inaccurate gave them as follows. . . . A line from Montrose opposite Nauvoo to the Council

*From a preliminary draft.

Bluffs which is that followed by what is now called the Mormon Road would, with a single exception be not more than two or three days march removed from any of them.

	<i>Souls</i>	<i>Families</i>
On the edge of the Settlements of Iowa & Missouri and partly employed in work there — several small bodies & scattered families, in all, say over 200 families of five persons. Of these one body near Bonaparte Iowa since broken up, runs by count in Sept. 638 persons.	1,000	200
Near the edge of the settlements on a small water course	100	20
<i>Proceeding Westward.</i>		
Twenty miles Soap Creek	100	20
Head of Chariton or Chariton Pt. above & below Ford	50	10 or 12
On the White Breast or Sein Blanc (here is a crop put in)	75	15
Garden Grove (heavy crop)	400	80
Mt. Pisgah (do. do.)	1000	200
On creek E. of Indian Town called Cent Deux or One Hundred and Two by Traders	200	40
On E. Nishnabotna at Indian Town on W. Nishnabotna &. —	50	10
On Branch of Keg Creek	125	25
On Keg Creek or Caque	100	20
Near the Missouri & Bluffs E. side	750	150
Near the mouth of the Poncah R., W. side of the Mo. (this a couple of hundred miles off the line described)	1000	200

Under estimate of the Main Camp taken one		
month since	11 250	2250
	<i>Total</i>	16 000
		3200
Or with a safe allowance of 1000 for 15,000		
Wilderness	15 000	
Church-elsewhere	45 000	
		60 000

The Mormons are capable of exercising an appreciable influence upon the national welfare. Their men are careful agriculturists or skilful artisans educated chiefly in Great Britain or the Atlantic States of the North—hardy, enterprising and industrious as a matter of religion as well as habit. Their numbers too are increasing with astonishing rapidity and it is not improbable that a number equal to those who first found the new colony will be on their way to join these the first year after they have announced the fact of their success. The country they have chosen has also peculiar advantages not in its natural resources alone which are great but in the importance of its position with reference to future military operations, and the subsidiary ones not unworthy of a place in the same category—those connected with the great popular movements to the Pacific Coast. I should not omit to allude in this relation to *peculiarities* attendant also on the organization & character which tend to make them respectable above the average as militia.

I consider it exceedingly important that everything should be done in the power of Govt to protect & comfort & thus securely consiliate the Mormon People. . . .

The positions thus occupied by the Mormons are regarded by them merely in the light of winter quarters to be abandoned by them as soon as they are able to do so. The ultimate destination of

the whole people as well as the bodies in the field is the country East of the Utah and Salt Lakes and West of the Rocky Mountains. The country they will occupy cannot safely be defined with more precision—much may be said in favour of that—the plain lying immediately East of the Utah lake—and of parts of the Bear River Valley: but there is much fine land elsewhere every where to dissuade them from over haste in making their final selection. It is besides, yet capable of being influenced within certain limits by the advise of the Government of the United States. It is only certain further, that they will settle the land of their choice in concentrated communities whether one or more, and not in scattered families as is the case with other emigrants.

The Mormons with whom my late journey brought me into contact are in a state of extreme destitution and suffering. With insufficient shelter and raiment they are about to encounter the severe winter of the North Missouri with a supply of food scarcely adequate to sustain life till the following season. Add to this that they are exposed to aggression from more than one of the bands of Indians by whom they are surrounded & who, however successfully they may repel them from an attack on life, may succeed in destroying more of the cattle, their principal means of subsistence and it is not difficult to conceive their situation to be extremely forlorn. It is not my place to discourse at length upon the merits or demerits of the unmanly persecution which has induced such a state of things. I must simply say to you that the Mormons have been wronged—how unjustifiably and how wickedly is a question to be discussed at best by—scarcely fit to be discussed even with the criminals in high place who have shared its guilt by an honourable and Christian gentleman. The Mormons it would be vain to deny also, are sensible of their wrongs, and they are exasperated

against the States whose magistracy has denied them protection and the rights of American Citizens. But they distinguish between their relations towards these members of the Union and the Union itself; and the National Government may look in vain elsewhere for more generous and patriotic supporters. I need not now vouch for the fervour of their patriotism to which I do not doubt the despatches of Lt. Col. Allen U. S. A. of the Mormon Battalion have borne sufficient evidence. With the Mormons Patriotism is one of the virtues, the hardy and deep rooted growth of their life of hardship & self sacrifice. But I consider it to be as I have stated it: only *one* of the virtues of this singular people. It is right that my testimony to you should be emphatic upon a point on which no one can exist a better authority than myself: that the Mormons have been as grievous sufferers by slander as by any other wrong, and that so far from being the creatures they have been represented by their enemies and as I myself once believed them, they are a people of *singular* virtue in every sense of the word. Pious though not austere—honest, frugal—self sacrificing, humane, decorous; such are the Mormons as I have known them; and I am confident that I should hunt in vain through our Eastern States for any community of equal size, better entitled no matter how great its pretensions, to the name of Christian.

★

KANE PLEADS FOR
TEMPORARY PROTECTION FOR THE MORMON
REFUGEES STRANDED ON THE BANKS
OF THE MISSOURI RIVER*

★

I HAVE been requested by the Mormon Council through a special messenger to urge strongly upon your immediate consideration two requests preferred by them to the President last fall.

The first relates to their sojourn on the Omaha lands on the Western side of the Mo. near old Council Bluffs. You are aware that when the prairie grass began to fail last year the Mormon emigrants moving in scattered parties with different degrees of expedition, halted to winter at various points, along their line of march between Nauvoo and their place of destination beyond the Rocky Mts. The principal of the places of wintering thus established was this [the East side] of the Omaha country and here they put in very large crops of grain and potatoes to recruit their nearly exhausted stock of provisions. As these must be gathered in the approaching summer and autumn unless hundreds are to die of starvation, and as the harvesters must remain on the farm of the settlement till the season for travelling is gone by, it follows that it is impossible for the whole body to . . . be off before next Spring. The men who continue on their journey till late this summer (for the Mormons dragging along with them their all, furniture, herds, feeble & poor, move very slowly) will have no time on their part to

*From a draft.

make proper preparations for their families before the approach of Winter. They are going among the most untamed and ferocious of our Indians, and though for their advance of the young & hardy, they can as they doubtless will, build such stockade fort with block houses as may be large enough to guard them & their limited rations of provision, they know it would be utterly impossible to do this for all the sick & old and women & children of their horde which now number over 20,000 in motion.

They will therefore have to leave the greater part of them at their Omaha town as an Asylum for passing the winter. Here they have built nearly a thousand houses which have sheltered since last fall 15 thousand souls. They have it perfectly well fortified on all sides and under its protection are the rush bottom peculiar to the Mo. where their cattle can find fattening pasture from Nov. to April. During the absence of the fighting men of the church on pioneer duty a few can here ensure their safety and provide for the comfort of all the dependent members of the Community.* For these reasons, the Mormons ask you to allow them to hold this post till next Spring (May or June 1848) shortly after which time their Treaty with the Omahas expires, and they ask a formal permission to this effect or such license as you have power to bestow. . . .

The *Second* request also is in a matter under the care of your Indian Bureau. . . . Their desire is, therefore, to receive their instructions without intermediary, and to this end they ask to be enabled to communicate directly with you by an Agent (Sub-Agent?) chosen out of their own number. They will then, they say be enabled to state to you fully their wishes, the motives of their conduct, and the true position of things as they find them. . . .

*The remainder of the original draft is lost, but a complete copy, not in Kane's handwriting, is available. The text from this point on has been taken from the copy.

★

KANE MAKES FURTHER
QUERIES OF MEDILL CONCERNING HIS
MORMON POLICY

★

OFFICE COMM. IND. AFFAIRS*

APRIL 24, 1847

Sir,

HAVING received your definitive answer unfavorable to the requests preferred by me in behalf of the Mormons, I ask of you formally in their name:—

1. Whether, since they are refused such papers as those before made out by you with regard to their sojourn among the Pottawatamies, (Sept. 2. & 3. 1846), it is the intention of the War Department to remove them by force from the Omaha Country, so long as their continued residence is desired by the Indians of the region, is necessary to the furtherance of their emigration, and is accompanied by no infraction of Regulations of the War Department or laws of the United States;—if it is, then *at what time*; to which question I request your answer in writing.

2. Whether, in the course of the Indian Treaties they may find it necessary to conclude with the Sioux, Pawnees, Crows, Utahs, and others, and in their intercourse with the savages generally, your Bureau has any request to make of them or suggestion to offer for their guidance. Any such they now aver, they will obey as far as practicable, being desirous of nothing, as they have often repeated,

*Copy.

so much as to be assured of their own conformity to the wishes of the National Executive.

The Mormons, Sir, not lost to all sense of their rights as American citizens, think it their due to be made acquainted beforehand of calamity in preparation for them by their own Government, while they also declare that they cannot be answerable for accidents or ill results from misconception of the purposes of the Executive, concerning which their urgent prayer to be instructed may be denied.

I desire that this and my other recent letters on the same subject, may be placed on your files, and respectfully solicit a copy of your Report to the President, at your earliest convenience,

I have the honour to be

Your most obedient servant

THOMAS L. KANE

(Address: District Court U. S. Philadelphia)

HON. WILLIAM MEDILL

Comm. Indian Affairs.

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MEDILL QUESTIONS

THE RIGHT OF THE MORMONS TO RECEIVE
SPECIAL PRIVILEGES ON THEIR
MARCH TO UTAH

WAR DEPARTMENT*
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS
APL 24ST 1847

Sir

IN obedience to the direction of the President to report to him through you on “the application of certain Mormon emigrants to the West of the Rocky Mountains, to be permitted to remain during the present season in the Indian Country where they now are” I have the honour to submit the following statement.

These people are now located on the lands of the Omaha Indians West of the Missouri river and North of the Platte or Nebraska river. But when the Department was first informed of their arrival & settlement on lands in Indian occupancy, it was the Eastern side of the Missouri or that which had recently been acquired by purchase from the Chippewas, Ottawas, & Pottewatomies.

The accompanying copies of letters marked A. indicate the period of their first arrival and of the peculiar circumstances by which they were surrounded in the prosecution of their journey West of the Rocky Mountains which they represented induced the application for permission temporarily to remain on the land on

*Copy.

which they were then located, and of the action of the Department in the premises, showing that, if their continuance was really to be temporary and for such length of time only as would enable them to supply their wants and procure the necessary means for proceeding on their journey that the Government would not interpose any objection, and that the Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St Louis was desired to instruct the proper Sub-Agent, and give notice to any other officers of the General Government in that quarter to interpose no obstacle to the Mormon People *remaining on the lands referred to during the suspension of their journey*, or to their making such improvements and raising such crops as their convenience & wants required, “taking care however at the same time to impress upon them the necessity of leaving at the earliest moment their necessities and convenience will justify and of observing all laws & regulations in force upon the territory for the time being.”

It will thus be seen that the application of these people for the purposes represented by them was granted, and although it appears by a report of the superintendent above referred to, of date of 3rd Dec 1846, a copy of which accompanies this marked B. that they had crossed the river and located on the lands of the Omahas, where they now are—and erected durable and comfortable buildings. Yet the Department entertaining no disposition to interfere under the circumstances, with their change of position, permitted the sanction which it had already given to apply to their new selection. The bases on which their application was granted were known to the Mormons. They having been furnished with a copy of the letter of instructions to the Superintendent.

The attention of the Executive in the present instance is called to this subject by Thomas L. Kane Esq. who purports to represent

the Mormons. In his communication to you of 20th inst he states that their requests at the present time are two:

- “1. That so far as the laws of the Government of the Territory West of the Missouri permit, the sanction of the Executive may be given in form, under all proper guards, to their temporary sojourn at the several points where the character of their migration may make it necessary.”
- “2. That in view of the intercourse which from time to time must necessarily take place between the Migrating parties and the several tribes of Indians on their route, there shall be some one of their number, at least, commissioned as an Agent or Sub Agent of the United States, to receive communicate and enforce the orders of the government having relation to their conduct and duties.”

With reference to the first of these requests it may be remarked that it contemplates at regular intervals a succession of settlements from Council Bluffs to the Bear River Valley West of the Rocky Mountains. It will thus appear that these people, not being satisfied with the consent already given them to remain unmolested during their temporary sojourn at the place where they now are and where so far as the Department is informed, they have not been disturbed—seek to be, in some official way noticed and recognized by the Government, with the view, it may be of setting up hereafter a right by settlement and occupancy and relying upon their numbers and strength, of asserting their independence of the Agents of the Department, in the laws in the Indian Country.

Mr Kane already intimates that the Department could not execute the requisitions of the Intercourse law upon these people “without an expensive exercise of power” if it was disposed.

How impolitic when to strengthen still more, by Executive Acts,

a people who entertain sentiments and purposes, such as have been intimated.

It is the opinion of this Office that, under the existing laws controlling the intercourse with Indian tribes, the Executive does not legally possess the power, however much his feelings personally might dictate a desire to comply, to give any positive permission as it sought to be obtained. The 11th section of the "Act to regulate trade and intercourse with the Indian Tribes and to preserve peace on the frontiers" approved 30 June 1834 enacts—"That if any person shall make a settlement on any land belonging, secured, or granted by treaty with the U States to any Indian tribe, or shall survey or shall attempt to survey such lands, or designate any of the boundaries by marking trees or otherwise such offender shall forfeit & pay the sum of one thousand dollars. And it shall moreover be lawful for the President of the United States to take such measures, and to employ such military force, as he may judge necessary to remove from the lands as aforesaid any such persons as aforesaid."

There is no discretion vested in any officer of the Government to sanction the present application. The penalty is liable to be imposed at any time on any person or persons, who shall violate the law, and if necessary, it is lawful for the President to employ Military force to expel the intruders. No discrimination is made in behalf of emigrants passing through the Territory—and as before stated had the Department the disposition to gratify the applicants there is no authority conferred by which the permission can be granted. In consenting to interpose no obstacle to the temporary sojourn of the Mormons where they now are, the Executive Department has exercised to the fullest extent, I apprehend, all the power with which it has been clothed. It has done all it can

legitimately do, or ever has done for any other citizens—by abstaining from interfering with them in their necessary stoppages on their route of emigration for purposes of recruiting &c. The whole Western Country has been settled by emigration from the various states without any other aid than has been extended to the Mormons, and are they more meritorious, than the men who now populate the whole West? Are they more deserving the protection of the Government, and entitled to privileges, which are not granted to the mass of the bold & hardy pioneers, who already have crossed the plains West of the Missouri and reached the goal of their desire—Oregon?

The Department desires to draw no distinction between the Mormons and any other portion of the people of the Country. Because they are banded together in one common community gives no rights, over the same number of individuals scattered over the whole country. On the contrary their association so distinct & separate requires the exercise of caution and prudence.

With reference to the 2d request I remark that this office entertains the opinion that an additional Agent or Sub-Agent is not necessary at this time for any public purpose on the route of travel to the Rocky Mountains. If any were necessary, it would be highly improper to confer the appointment on those against whom the Government might be called to protect the Indians. Indeed it is believed that it is not so much the want of Agents to represent the Government on the line of travel that is complained of as a desire to obtain such as can be made subservient to a *particular* interest should the present proposition meet with success—it may happen that from sinister motives—a desire to trade with Indians on the route, to effect some personal, local or pecuniary advantage, or inciting cause, other parties of emigrants may make a similar request, and on equally plausible grounds.

It may be further remarked that for the last and present years the appropriation for Agents and Sub-Agents has been limited to the amount required for the payment of the number now in employ.

I have the honor to be

Respectfully Yr Obt Servt

W. MEDILL.

HON: W. L. MARCY

Secry of War.

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WAR DEPARTMENT DISCUSSES MORMON QUESTION

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WAR DEPARTMENT*
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS
SEPT 2ND 1846

Sir

SINCE my letters to you of the 27th July and the 22nd Ultimo, in relation to the Mormons and the desire expressed by them to remain for a time on the lands recently purchased by the United States from the Pottowatomie Indians, and which lie within the limits of Iowa, the subject has been brought [to] the immediate notice of the President and Secretary of War.

The object and intention of the Mormons in desiring to locate upon the lands in question, are not very satisfactorily set forth, either in the application to the President or in the letter transmitted to this office, which contained the assent of the Indian Chiefs.

If their continuance is really to be temporary and for such length of time only as will enable them to supply their wants and procure the necessary means for proceeding on their Journey, the Government will interpose no objections. The want of provisions and the near approach of winter, which will have set in before they can reach their proposed destination, would necessarily expose them to much suffering if not to starvation and death, while on the other hand a location and continuance for any considerable length of time near Council Bluffs, would interfere with the removal of the

*Copy.

Indians. An object of so much interest to the people of that region of Country: delay the survey and sales of the lands in question, and thus, in all probability, bring about a difficulty between Iowa, now about to come into the Union as a state, and the General Government. Both these extremes, in the opinion of the President, should be avoided. The rights and interests of Iowa, now that the Indian title has been extinguished may not be jeopardized, while the laws of humanity, and the rights of hospitality should not be disregarded.

You will ascertain, if possible, the real intentions of these people in desiring to remain, and if you are satisfied, that they will leave and resume their journey in the spring, or at such period as the Season for travelling will justify, and that no possible injury is likely to ensue to the Indians from their stay among them you will instruct the Sub-Agent, and give notice to any other officer of the general government in that quarter to interpose no objection to the Mormon People remaining on the lands referred to during the suspension of their journey, or to their making such improvements, and raising such crops as their convenience and wants may require, taking care however at the same time to impress upon them the necessity of leaving at the earliest moment their necessities and convenience will justify and of observing all laws and regulations in force upon the territory for the time being.

Very Respectfully

Your Most Obt Servt

W. MEDILL

MAJOR THOMAS H. HARVEY

Supt Indian Affairs

St Louis

Missouri

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COMMISSIONER MEDILL WRITES KANE'S FATHER

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WAR DEPARTMENT*
OFFICE INDIAN AFFAIRS
SEPTEMBER 3RD 1846

Sir

THE PRESIDENT has handed me your letter of the 29th ultimo, and its enclosures, on the subject of giving permissions to a party of Mormons who are emigrating to the West of the Rocky Mountains, to remain for a while and winter in the Country recently purchased from the Pattawatomie Indians near Council Bluffs, where they now are.

After a full consideration of the subject in all its bearings, the President has deemed it best to give the permission in the form and upon the conditions contained in a letter to Major Harvey, the efficient Superintendent of Indian Affairs at St. Louis who has already given his special attention to the subject and correspond with the Departments in relation to it, and who can communicate rapidly with the Mormons through the Sub-Agent for the Pattawatomies or thro Col. Kane should he remain in that Country. By the Presidents directions a copy of the letter to Major Harvey is herewith enclosed with the request that you will be good enough to transmit it to Col. Kane.

Very Respectfully
Your most obt Servt.

JUDGE J. K. KANE

Philadelphia

Penna.

*Copy.

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UPON HIS RETURN

KANE WRITES A LETTER TO PRESIDENT POLK

REGARDING THE MORMONS

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*Dear Sir,**

[[I HAVE the honour to announce to you my return from the west and at the same time inform you of the complete and satisfactory attainment by me of all the objects which my journey was contemplated to effect. The relations of your government with the Mormon people are placed upon a footing of the most desirable character with every prospect of their continuing to be so. If your information with regard to an unfortunate alienation of feeling on their part at the time when I left you was correct, and if they were open to the action of foreign influences unfavorable to the United States, there is only more room for congratulation that their patriotic feeling has been superior to temptation and that the wise and humane policy adopted by you has altered this state of things and secured to our country I trust forever the affection of thousands of her most useful citizens.

I am the bearer of an address from the Mormons, expressive of their good feeling toward the U. S. Government a copy of which I annex, marked A. It was prepared at my suggestion: but is altogether the work of their own Executive Council, I abstained from making any alteration of it when the rough draft was presented to

*An incomplete draft.

me for that purpose—preferring that it should stand entirely as their own production. For its genuineness as an expression of true and earnest feeling I have not hesitation in vouching. After its ratification in conclave of the Twelve it was submitted by my request to an assembly of the laity in general council for their approval, and was adopted by them without reserve and even with enthusiasm. I also beg your notice of the evidence of Mr. Mitchell the sub-agent of the Pottawatamies and its revival under date of Sept. 19 marked B. & C. Mr. Mitchell was principally concerned in forwarding to Major Harvey of St. Louis, intelligence in which I believe that gentleman reposed too much confidence, concerning a reception of English regimental and presents in the camp on the road from the Mississippi to the Missouri, as well as their tampering as agents of Great Britain with the tribes upon the frontiers of Iowa & Missouri. His evidence therefore is particularly entitled to credence when he remarks that “he knows nothing against the Mormons though he has daily opportunities of intercourse with their companies in this neighbourhood.”

I would do wrong if I were to omit to state as further evidence of the state of feeling which now abides with the Mormons, that there has grown up toward yourself a patriotic affection such, as strangely contrasts with the earnest hate they bear towards some who have hitherto been in authority over them. Long continued harsh treatment from these has caused the wrong of the Church to be held as the personal grievance of every member of it—and it seems to be a kind of relief to some who are men of warm hearts to be allowed to entertain toward yourself, the only ruler from whom I or they have received justice, a measure of cordial feeling which sufficiently curiously mingles the respect of the red man for the Great Father with the personal attachment to the sovereign found

in the subjects of monarchial governments. This feeling, likely to prove (as I may say it has already done) as exceedingly valuable reliance to the United States, like their love of their nation which has never yet been extinguished in the Mormons, seems only the simplest measure of right to be accorded them by it—to perpetuate its existence.

The orthodox portion of the Mormon Church is now much scattered though its members continue as ever strongly bound to each other and to it. Many are in the various States upon the Mississippi and expect to pass the winter there, being seldom to be found in bodies larger than two families in a neighbourhood. Many more are thus dispersed through the Northern & Western settlements of Missouri and Iowa—and in the latter state I saw quite recently a body of houseless exiles 640 in number lying helpless on the Mississippi shore opposite Nauvoo and the homes from which they had just been expelled. Most of those who are in these States however are men who hope to obtain work which will sustain them till the cold weather is over. Along the road from Montrose to the Council Bluffs and in the Pottawatamie Country are established several hundred families; something like a hundred being at two single stations called Garica Grove & Mt Pisgah where last May crops were put in in over a thousand acres of prairie land. Many more also are in motion along it. Two hundred families are with Bishop George Miller well known as Col. Miller of the Black Hawk War, and a most efficient leader at the Poncah Village in a very exposed situation. I learned also through Mr. Chas. Tablette of St. Louis who has just returned from a trapping expedition to the So. W. that he encountered on the upper waters of the Arkansas a body of at least 150 families well armed but apparently astray from some cause or other; and these I have no difficulty in recognizing

after his description to be the band of Lyman White a much beloved & gallant semi-lunatic member of the High Council given up for lost by his brethren since the end of 1843, in the summer of which year he departed from Nauvoo under peculiar circumstances. A large party you know also to be also with Samuel Brannan not far from The Bay of Saint Francisco in California. I need not say however that by much the largest body is the main one with which I last resided, that namely in the country of the Omahas whose Camp is situated near the Missouri about 16 miles above Bellevue. Here at the time of my departure were already assembled over 1270 families and their number must now be much greater being then increased by arrivals of from 20 to 30 at the rate of twenty & thirty waggons daily.

You will remark from the Address that the original destination of the Mormons is changed, and that this main body having with it the head rulership of their Church no longer contemplates establishing itself on the Bay of St Francisco or in the valley of the Sacramento. As this is an important change of purpose, you must excuse my dwelling upon it in a few remarks in part justificatory of my own agency. With regard to it, I am free to say that I earnestly counselled it; being as I was convinced that it was a measure greatly for the benefit both of the Mormons themselves and of the United States.

The country thus chosen in place of the California lies about midway between the Missouri and the Pacific and may be loosely described as lying between the E. shore of Lake Tampanogos, and the 111th. degree of W Longitude and extending at least from the 40th. parallel of Latitude to the 42° which lately formed the Northern boundary of the U. States. It has been recently introduced by public notice by the journal of Lt. Col. Fremont who

may be said to have passed through portions of it in his road to visit the Northern & Southern extremities of the Great Salt Lake to use his more appropriate designation for it; but it has been long known to travellers particularly voyageurs & trappers through the far West. It is but from little over a hundred miles from the South Pass and the important headland from which flow in as many different directions the first waters of four of the greatest Rivers of the Continent, the Yellowstone head of the Missouri, the Arkansas, the Platte & the Colorado of the Gulf of California.—The distance from it is of course short to the great reaches of country toward which these streams descend and its situation is equally favourable with regard to the Lewis Fork of the Columbia R. which gives the entrance to Oregon most generally in use.

This country though not likely for many years to be desirable in the eyes of the ordinary emigrants on account of its secluded interior situation has many peculiar advantages. It may be characterized as mountainous throughout but it includes numberless small valleys of rare fertility and here & there as on the East shore of the Utah lake some delicate plains. The elevations are abrupt the crags almost starting as it were from the grass—the green bottoms at their base are kindly sheltered by them from the winds of winter. Fine timber abounds and instead of the poor cottonwood & elm which forms too generally the staple growth of the country East of it to the Missouri, is of great variety including pine, cedars which crown the hill tops—aspens, willow, poplar, elder, cherry, service berry, birch, hawthorn, maple and a fine variety of clean trunked white oak, not found to the Eastward. Sweet streams abound through it, and the water of its numerous springs is soft and pleasant to the taste. Down by the Utah lake where is one of its choicest portions, these crop out every where from the hill sides.

In the rivulets formed by them trout is said to abound, and the fresh waters of this lake itself are a famous fishing ground for several Indian nations. Here also is some of the blackest & richest soil to be found—as well as Coal & Rock Salt to the existence in abundance of which I have too abundant testimony to doubt and also some patches of the blackest & richest soil in our country. . . .

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A LETTER FROM KANE
TO HORACE GREELEY, "BEING AN ABSTRACT OF
THE ORIGINAL DESCRIPTION WHICH
INDUCED THE M[ORMON]S TO
SETTLE IN THE 'BASIN'"

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*Dear Sir**

YOU write me that much prejudicial misconception prevails as to the designs of the Mormons in their emigration, which it will be for their interest if I can remove. . . .

The van of the Mormon host, a band over 3500 strong has safely arrived in the Land which is proposed as the ultimate home and gathering place of their church. This is what has been called the Utah Country, from the fact that it is nominally owned by Indians of that name who contest its possession with the other wild animals with which Nature has stocked it. It is very diversified in its character. It has some prairie or meadow land, more that is broken and hilly, much more that is mountainous. The mountainous region is described as one of the most beautiful on our continent, being an extended North American Switzerland. It has precipitous crags—looking glass lakelets, pinnacles topped with clouds, and snow; and all that sort of thing; but the crags, which rise abruptly from the water levels, leave at their bases numerous kind [of] little open glades, sheltered from the cold by the heights, and of course the most favorable of nurseries and playgrounds for the cattle which

*From the original manuscript.

will be the wealth of the richer Mormons. Out of the fertile earth grows the *bunch grass*, which has the laudable eccentricity of character of drying and dying down in the summer, so as to grow up in the autumn higher than our winter wheat, and afford unfailing pasture during the coldest weather. There is an abundant growth of choice timber varying with the changing elevations of the land, pine, oak, elm, cedar, beech; hickory and ash for election poles, and maple for free labour sugar. Among the best wooded hills run crazily furious cascades that seem made expressly to gratify the lover of romantic scenery & for saw mills. There are quantities of well-fatted game to kill, though few buffalos or Indians. There have already been discovered, without mining, fossil salt, alum, carbonate of soda, lime good enough for manure, which means probably, without magnesia, Epsom Salt, or the Sulphate of Magnesia in quantity enough, inadvertently applied as lime, to purge the land of the entire Sect. Iron has been found lying in the same bed with coal, yet both of the most excellent character. The coal is bituminous and there are reasons for believing that it will coke much better than our own.

The western boundary of this country may be taken to be the lakes Great Salt and Utah—the former an interesting Occidental Dead Sea, the latter one of the most beautiful of sweet water meres. The mountains lower as they approach these lakes, and rolling down gently towards the Southern one or Utah, so curve round it as to leave an open plain of rich flat land watered by the descending streams. On this, by a fair river well stocked with gay coloured fish; which is the outlet of the Utah lake into the Salt, and which the Outcasts have named “The Jordan,” they have built an *Adobe* or sun brick fort, with stockade and blockhouses, covering ten acres in the clear. A commanding elevation hard by

the fort, has been thought a fit site for the Temple of their new HieruSalem with its town of rest. From this, its spire, if half so radiant with white and gold as that of Nauvoo, would be a landmark seen from the waterside for miles beyond point blank horizon range.

Take it in all, the Utah country is a country of sweet grass, heavy timber, clear air, pure water. . . . But they fear that it wants rain. Since the first corner-stone—or more literally,—corner of log pen—was laid of their proposed City of the plain, up to the time when a volunteer mail contractor left it in the fall, its inhabitants say they have contented themselves with the heavy dews of their unclouded nights. Although therefore, the natural facilities of the country are great for artificial irrigation, both from rivers and rivulets and from Source Springs which well out from rock loam and clay everywhere with equal purity, the Mormons may possibly on this account again change their position. They may strike into the Mountains, they may go north to the Bear River valley or Southeast towards the Paths, they may even, some of them, push over into California;—more probably they may wander down the valley to the swift Colorado of the west, the escheated domain of a race passed away whose tale is told upon its banks by the ruins of their cities, sepulchers and temples. To this course there are temptations, which I will not here detail. I think withal, that the Mormons will maintain their place upon the Utah outlet.

If so, they cannot fail, those who live to get there, to thrive. The gentleman emigrant from the frontiers of Missouri, Illinois and Iowa, amateur of scalping, gouging and the use of the Bowie knife, who has found indulgence in these and other felonious accomplishments, a cheap pastime at the expense of the heterodox and helpless, will pass by the mountain fortress walls which include the

happy valley of the Mormon. Driven westward by the uncontrollable Impulse which Providence has given to the American Citizen, with the wandering Jew, and the also Asiatic and undying Cholera, he will move onward to reach the fertile plains which see the sun set in the Pacific. That Ocean will bring him, every luxury of the crowded world. The Mormon, landlocked in his territory of sheepwalks, coal, iron, and water power, his domestic manufactures & independent of vacillating tariffs, will be his own shepherd, manufacturer & farmer—perhaps no less happy because compelled to a life of simple and laborious habits.

The false notions you describe as prevalent have arisen from the unavoidable failure of the Mormons to carry out their plans. The first large company of them that started from Illinois counted reasonably upon arriving in the Utah Country, at latest, before the end of their first summer out. But their March with that of the few others who like them were measurably well equipped for the Journey was impeded by the constantly recurring necessity they were under, of halting to receive their unhappy friends who were expelled from Nauvoo after their departure. These came flying to them, month after month, without bag baggage beast or barrow, and must have perished, had the more fortunate not assisted to bear them along, and shared with them their own scant ration of provisions. Their tardy progress therefore is anything but to be wondered at. Some of them have reached their goal as I have stated—others lag after but are struggling on. The weakest of all and those latest expelled who are the same now asking help, are not far out from the settlements. They hang behind as we have seen the wounded and feeble birds of a migrating flock recently fired into.

As you call upon me to state explicitly what are the wants of

these applicants for our charity, I answer you explicitly everything. But as there is no use of considering nice questions of haberdashery, drapery, or upholstery, it may be proper to inform givers that they have no food—except some short crops they have raised upon the prairie—(some pumpkins and some Indian Corn;) that they have little or no salt, no iron to make up wagons to carry their sick, few or no cattle to drag these, no powder and ball, no groceries, no medicines,—and, one may almost say no raiment. Indeed their pathetic statement of the extreme need arising from the fact that while they have gone on consuming their supplies they have been without resource to renew them, holds particularly true of the article of clothing. The entire wardrobe has as a general rule become insufficient (through lapse of time and other lapses thereby superinduced) with those proprietors who have carried it upon their backs, without confessed *permanent* change during a period of between one and two years. In certain instances, even this is understood to have been originally imperfect, as in the case of persons of family habits whose longest notice to quit Illinois was the short crack of the Anti-Mormon rifle, wakening them in the night to flee forth into the wilderness by the light of their blazing homes.

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BRIGHAM YOUNG WRITES TO KANE

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G. S. L. CITY, U. T.*

JANY. 14TH 1859

Col. Thomas L. Kane

My Dear Friend:—

THOUGH having nothing direct from you, yet I feel to improve the opportunity of private conveyance.

We have thus far passed the ordeal without being forced into a collision, or even an outward quarrel with our enemies; although a few have spared no pains to involve us therein. But the Lord has frustrated and thwarted their purposes, and left them to sip of their own folly. The murmurings now are against Mormon Juries. Is it not really a pity that the authority of Congress does not allow this sagacious court to import all the Jurors as well as other Officers and Postmasters, so that things could go, regardless of right, to their liking? The juries selected by Mr. Dotson for Mr. Sinclair's Court, just closed, consisted of half transient persons not citizens, and some of them known to be our bitterest foes; and yet the junto failed in accomplishing a single thing which they so sedulously planned. They reached no business of consequence, or to speak more correctly, adjourned the juries so soon as they approached legitimate business for the court, leaving some eight or ten prisoners in custody untried.

The question, of which you have doubtlessly heard,—that no Court had been broken up, or even disturbed in Utah—is virtually

*This is taken from the original letter addressed to Kane at Philadelphia.

decided by James Ferguson's acquittal before Judge Sinclair. As in the case of destroying the Records, Library, &c., so now interrupting the courts, has upon the fullest investigation, before a court known to be unfriendly, fallen to the ground. So will it be with every charge made against us as a people touching our loyalty, patriotism, or devotion to our country's constitutional Government, and her free and glorious institutions whenever and wherever fairly tested. But let our present small annoyances pass, and let us look to the bright, the hopeful future.

I observe that Mr. Morris of Illinois has notified the House that he will introduce a bill authorizing the Territories to elect their own Governors, Judges &c.. I will merely observe, that if such a law should pass it would be very likely to obviate any necessity for a "Rebellion" in the Territories, and the attendant necessary expense of sending *formidable* and *terrible armies* to *crush it out*.

I hope that Mr. Secy. Floyd will accept our submission "in whispers of terrors" in advance. This motion of Mr. Morris is a move in the right direction, and will, I trust, prevail.

Admission is most desirable; but if Congress cannot accede to us so great a boon, let them at least extend an Enabling Act. I understand from reports that Judge Eckels is in Washington. I think he will not have much influence. Hurt and Craig are removed: those still are members of the junto, to which I am sorry to add Mr. Sinclair, and I fear Cradlebaugh, have thought proper to attach themselves. Our imported Postmaster still remains, and Peter Dotson is still Marshall of the Territory. The Army also we are told by Mr. Secy. Floyd are necessary to be retained in Utah.

What has become of the Report of the Commissioners? It has not yet been received here. It was strongly urged by them while here that the Army would be called elsewhere so soon as His Excel-

G. S. L. City, W. T.

Col Thomas L. Kane,
 My Dear Friend:—

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The question, of which you have doubtlessly heard, that no court had been broken up, or even disturbed in Utah - is virtually decided by James Ferguson's acquittal before Judge Sinclair. As in the case of destroying the Records, Library, &c, so now interrupting the courts, had upon the fullest investigation, before a court known to be unfriendly, fallen to the ground. So will it be with every charge made against us as a people touching our Loyalty, patriotism, or devotion to our country's constitutional Government, and her free and glorious institutions whenever and wherever fairly tested. But let our present small annoyances pass, and let us look to the bright, the hopeful future.

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lency the President could remove them with safety to all political parties, being already convinced there was no necessity for their prolonged retention in this Territory, & in our settlements especially.

Those are all objects to be obtained and obstacles to be removed, and our friends must excuse us for directing their attention thereto.

I am happy to learn, tho' through an indirect source, that you have recovered your health, and sincerely hope that you are quite yourself again. We trust that you received your trunk and all your things safely and unimpairedly from the hands of Mr. Horace S. Eldredge, by whom they were sent.

Mr. Wilson, so far as his course is an indication to his intentions, will probably act in concert with Governor Cumming on all general questions; and the Governor still holds his independent course, which gives his Administration power, and makes it effective in preserving good order.

The Legislative Assembly is now in session, and acting quite harmoniously with Governor Cumming and the Secretary, Mr. Hartnett. A few Memorials will be adopted to the General Government, and forwarded to our Delegate; but it is doubtful whether they arrive in time to be presented before the adjournment.

You, Colonel, are daily and hourly remembered by us all in our supplications to the throne of power, and in the domestic circle. We shall ever appreciate the good, the generous, the energetic and talented little Col.. Excuse me Col., and do not feel that I am intruding, knowing your views are so different from ours, as I express not only my own, but the sentiments of all around me—those and many, very many more than you associated with while we were favored with your presence in this so far distant retreat. So far distant why should we not expect to be left free from the inter-

ference of our enemies, instead of being forever pursued, misrepresented and traduced—but forgive me for recurring to this unpleasant subject.

We have had a favorable harvest. Many of our people have labored for the Army. Trade with the Merchants—mostly Gentiles, as they call themselves—has been brisk, and high prices for their goods maintained. A large quantity of cloth, homespun, has been manufactured, and a degree of general prosperity attends every interest of the Territory; and we trust that the strenuous efforts our enemies are now making in certain quarters will not soon again be able to interrupt the peace, quiet and general prosperity of our young and thriving Territory.

We have forwarded to Geo. Q. Cannon regular files of the 'Deseret News' and 'Valley Tan,' to which we expect you to have full access.

May the God of Abraham bless you Col.; your dear Wife and children; your Mother and all your reverend Father's family, with all that pertain to you and them; and may you rejoice continually in the prosperity and success which shall attend all your efforts, and the Holy One of Israel guard and protect you from every evil.

The health of myself, family and friends generally is good.

Sincerely and truly your friend

BRIGHAM YOUNG

PART TWO



“CONFIDENTIAL ENTRIES”

BEING THE DIARY OF THOMAS LEIPER KANE
KEPT ON HIS TRIP TO SALT LAKE CITY
BY WAY OF THE ISTHMUS AND
CALIFORNIA IN

1858



THOMAS LEIPER KANE*

1858

DIARY I.



Friday Jan. 8. Homesickness & Seasickness, the Two wasting ways combined—grief of body & grief of mind. No other way in which to observe my old Rule to put every time to its own work but to go
In Retreat

Sunday Jan. 10. 3 P.M. Have reason to hope that I have passed the lethargic stage of my seasickness—though it may be but the influence of a small island, to windward, on the tormenting waves. Still it is much to see out of my eyes—to breath with some freedom and that believe my prostration is a temporary affair and due to Sea sickness alone. . . .

Monday Jan. 11. Now the 7th. day passing. May I believe I will survive the two weeks and a half more of sea voyage between us & San Francisco? The month of crossing the Sierra seems to me less to be depreceated [*sic*]. But after that —After that before I meet home—10 mos?—perhaps Eternity.

Tuesday Jan. 12—Confined to my berth. . . .

Wednesday Jan. 13. Today is I may hope the last of this Trial—at least as far as this crank and rolling wet little Moses Taylor is

*On his trip to Salt Lake City Kane assumed the name of "A. Osborne." This is the name which appears on the fly leaf of the first of the two diaries and also appears in the pages of the diary itself. No effort is made, however, to conceal the true authorship of the diary since the name Kane likewise appears in the text.

concerned. They must be right in predicting a different state of things on the Pacific side. But if not—Well.

(*written on board the Panama RR. cars*)

Jan. 14. Aspinwall! Not a harbor—an indentation—a cove is a marsh. Yankee wooden wharf piers built out, looking nearly as much terra firma as the so called fast land. For birds, buzzards—poultry undertakers as much too familiar as Mr. Moore on the day of a funeral—and for a similar cause. No inhabitants. Sojourning Jews, ague-cheeks & Jamaica negroes, daring to stick at it picking up money till too late for their lives. They charged a quarter of a dollar a dozen for yellow letter envelopes and \$1.50 for my breakfast, which Anthons thought exorbitant. I thought it too little. It was so plain so few of them were long for this world.

Several of the shanties had *clean* fronts—other Americanisms were around. But they cd. not more than spot the wicked swamp. The real scene is—marsh weeds, mangoes, fetid ducks smells—the unmixed camaraderie of cholera, vomit, & fever.

Out of this runs a Railroad. . . Trains with canebacked cane seated cars—but a Railroad—modern, civilized, energetic, powerful. And through what a country. . . . Flowers of every beauty everpresent—leaves in spears & swords and ovals & wheels & staves—a perfect burst of fireworks of foliage. Nothing is more truly sublime for me than the Tropical Forest.

Items as we fly past { An immense perfectly graceful tree of the Acacia tribe Large-sized papaws in a grove amongst palms— —in front 40 feet high Euphorbias brightest scarlet & yellow.—Noble feathers—ostrich feather flower—white, tipped with dark purple—a flower like the calla—tract of forest black as night, the lofty trees all hang down with ropes of lianes. Euphorbias, must be 60 ft. one of them

crowded with gray birds.—The perfection of hanging ropes and parasitic leafing! . . .

With this — came to a river — in the sun — of melted silver — equally metallic looking, a flaunt of banana leaves turned over by the sweet breeze. BACK of there, dark mangoes and above them high palms heavy with cocoanuts—this the little park of an Indian village—Palm leaf thatched roofs on poles—below, walls of bamboo or cane fluting—or maybe open for the day. Inside & in front the yellow women with mens hats on, Indian unmistakably. In the river below (and in the distance far up into the woods and other)—a canoe paddled slowly across with languid strokes. . . .

Next after, whirl through a street of shanties.—Booths; Cocoanuts, Limes & oranges for sale! French cherries, Pickles Playing Cards and variously colored ardent spirits too. All out to view, the Jamaica negresses in soft expensive fine lawns & cambrics hardly covering their wanton black persons. They chatter there “my dear” to the whirling train—at the same moment show themselves from out the shanties, a sadder sight,—the liquor or fever-swollen Irish laborers to whom such probably belong. The inibriates near the cars—Let us eat and drink, for tomorrow we die!

More Indians. They have gardens stockaded in with upright poles tied together. Small cattle are seen ruminating by the river Bank. (In further particulars see Grandville’s Robinson Crusoe)—The long snouted. . . black hogs which I at first thought peccaries were evidently domesticated. They, and the Indians and the vultures soaring in the hot sun—evidently have learned what we were. But, to think that through a country like this we are running on a Real RailRoad a RailRoad with embankments and sleepers & ties and bright red painted iron bridges—which two telegraph wires accompany on the right hand from one end to the other!

11 A.M. *Philadelphia time*—Train stops. We have evidently been obeying the course of a River. The constantly recurring glimpses of it have been judicious. 10 minutes since—caught a glimpse of a pair of fine shoulders hiding as if surprised, three naked yellow children also were under a tree on the edge of the cool running water which one of them was pouring out with an old wooden bowl. The next turn beyond them in the green dark overhang what looked to be deep water, and long ropes of vines falling from its boughs wd. have enabled you to swing yourself out into such a delicious plunge bath!

That last was no full stop.—Fortunately, as the day oppressively hot except when in motion. We now come among hills upon which also the majesty of vegetation had taken its seat. Cutting against the sky were some of the noblest palm effects.—Presto a clearing! The soft yellow green of the smoother ground so sunny, and giving such effect to the detached cocoanut trees. The heat grew stifling, when the whistle of another locomotive was heard, and, moving a little further, we were surrounded with orange & banana vending negroes, negresses and badboys. They seem to speak Spanish but their fruit was of the Catholic savour one and universal. In the capacity of traveller, I was about to note their inferiority to the orange. . . .

But I had only stopped after my 3d immense one, and of a certainty intend to finish the rest of my dozen before we go much farther.

At this, my attention is attracted by a girl with a queer animal to sell—something between a half a woodchuck and a rabbit. Looking about me I see that one of the Sambo peddlars—a tall yellow respectability with long black hair ingeniously braided, has a trough of little 6 & 8 inch cones, steaming even in this steaming weather.

I buy four and they prove to be little ears of hot corn—yellow and a little hard but so clean & sweet inside their jackets that I count up as I devoured (12 meridian). . . .

Moving smoothly out into the Pacific

3.P.M. Friday Jan. 15.

But old Panama from the sea is a different thing. The Golden Gate is lying in the Roadstead some miles below the town, and since I have got off my last last lines by the last boat, and my state of uneasiness and continual *queriness* has in a measure subsided also—I have been prospecting it with the little Munich spy glass. Percunt ruince:—the unroofed walls are crumbling out of shape like salts efflorescing in the air. Some, as seen in the distance, looked to be falling to lime with the mortar that cemented them; others keep a rich rust red & yellow; others again are coped with bronze green vegetation, and there is plainly no more life left in the city to keep it down than in a dying tree to shed the growing moss from its limbs.—Four or five churches and their towers.—A great architectural façade of involved mouldings—without a rear—a thick walled magazine, I easily make it out empty—the sea wall ending at the point in a pepper box guard house,—which the soldier no longer looks out from. In only one tower I see left a bell.—For whom does this now ring? Who passes under the arch way which retains so many marks of once having been the gate of pride? On one curious front, I think I distinguish a coat of arms. Whose?—Were they peradventure carved at the noble bearer's cost, in Spain, and sent out to the builders by sea? . . .

Fairly out at sea—a sweet thirst-slaking breeze, the water yet an even floor. I sit out under the awning of the roomy upper deck. . . . I have been dining and doing the good fellow & fine gentleman

of two bottles of wine, on a wager with faithful Anthony that I wd. maintain the sole possession of my State Room opening on the Deck.—I am the winner—by universal consent too, though the only exclusive owner of such a room on board the boat.—In vino veritas, forsooth—in vino omnis deceptio. Three people beset me to my bed hour proving to “Osborne” on how wrong a quarter of our hemisphere America has been planted; and two of these have both taken it upon themselves to make my fortune for me in California. The ingenuous might inquire are such natives of that promising country? An answer in the affirmative appears to be called for in the premises. . . .

Our Latitude is now nearly $71\frac{1}{2}^{\circ}$, says the obliging Ship’s Doctor....

The second day upon this *Peaceful Water*. A blessing for me goes with the word, and it is hard to mark the passage of the pleasant time. Sky and water, it is light blue by day & dark blue by night, with as much rose & gold as you want to divide the above from below.—The climate has the influence on me of Café noir—taken before going to the French opera. . . .

I think it is a sign of returning mental health, that I long for Lucretius again. And it is perhaps a meaning fact too that when my thoughts are turned upon going among the Mormons, I am mindful so constantly of the monosexual halfness of our modern Protestantism. I shall doubtless find it again in Utah as I did upon the Plains. . . .

Monday January 18. Have passed the morning talking with Californian miners, drovers, and adventurers who wd. persuade me that I am getting back to what I ought never to have left—or rather cease to be—10 years ago. More than 10 years of the prime of life so much worse than thrown away! . . .

Have the Southern Cross in sight from my window as I lie in

bed, from 3, til daylight, when I rise. This never fails to affect me deeply, and, I hope, prepares me for the day.

Tuesday—19. In helpless headache & sickness from the influence of the N. E. and Trade Wind blowing over the narrow Mexico which is at the Gulf of Tehuantepec.

Write this Wednesday Jan. 20., weak & jaded—Homesick of course, but as always unprovided with sentimental words upon the subject. I wrote two letters home, for the chances of an Acapulco mail, without a single word to express my sorrowful longing. It is too earnest, this time for me to give way to any other manner than a child's cry—tears, or simple nervous paroxysm of an expensive character.

Thursday Jan. 21. I might write a chapter to day upon this morning's visit to Acapulco, but am sure my wife wd. thank me for an afternoon of idle ease, as I have now but one week more left of this restoring cruise. We have too an interesting Mexican on board, a zealous partisan of the late Commonfort as it wd. appear and he is giving his whole time to me, I do not consider him beneath my notice, as a nigger. . . . It is as close & sultry tonight as if a hurricane were brooding, and the mountain shores which we have been all day passing under, looked sunburnt & parched, down to the waters edge. As seen through the glass, not a breath appeared to stir the leaves of the bananas or cocoanut palms. . . .

Saturday, Jan. 23.—Last night, the steambox or something of the kind broke, in the Starboard Engine, and after some little noise and confusion caused by other breakage and the escape of steam, we lay like a log upon the uneasy water. In two or three hours order was restored enough to enable us to proceed with one engine at the rate of about 6 miles an hour. The day passes among my ship mates in discussions with regard to which is the nearest eligi-

ble port of refuge for us in case this engine too shd. fail—and with me in efforts to accept the lesson in Patience.

Sunday, Jan. 24. A piece of good news this morning. The engineers who have been hammering in their gloomy workshop night & day since our accident have succeeded in making something take the place of something else and thus set two engines at work, increasing our speed to 10 or 11 miles an hour. We may still get in inside of a week. . . .

Wednesday Jan. 27. After two days sharp sickness, I am left stronger to day than when I left Philadelphia. I never in my life knew what it was to gain strength upon a sea voyage, never before made a voyage of any length without storm or disaster. Yet here we are, there can be no doubt of it, within 36 or 48 hours of S. Francisco, with every prospect favoring and almost the certainty of arriving without accident. What renders this more striking is that we get our good news of it upon my birthday. . . .

Saint Clement—Saint Nicolas—Santa Catalina—“See here Mr. Osborne, come out on the Upper Deck—there’s a sight for you—see that white cloud above Saint Catalina! thats the Snow on top of old Mount St. Bernadino! . . .

Thursday, January 28. 1858. So this first of January 27ths closed; at 12 last night, the full moon in the zenith, the sea glass calm, the Coast Range of Mountains romantically close to starboard, a welcoming light house shining from a headland astern to say: you have passed “Pt. Conception,” little one, and are now within one days sail of Saint Francisco. They declare we must arrive this very night, and that to day shd. be devoted to the task of packing up ones clothing and other distressful objects in use on the voyage. I have a couple of days more sea life before me, returning upon the track to S. Pedro, perhaps. But for my own comfort, I wd. be glad

to exchange them for my heaviest snow tramp to Fort Hall—if I can enter upon that route without the three or four days sail which they say I must take to reach Oregon.* Carson Valley may prove impractical and I may be forced to begin by some other venture upon water again North or South. But I do vow, and I set this down here for my true friend to remind me of it here-after—that I will never again—no I make no vow, but devoutly pray that I may never again—never again—expose myself to what I never fail to suffer on the Ocean. I write this at the close of what all my fellow passengers agree in characterizing as a voyage blessed with almost miraculous weather. Though it was January 5, we left New York in October sunshine—which only changed to pass into September & August as we approached the Tropic, and, becoming mid-summer at the Isthmus, gradually returned through July & August to bracing September again. We have had, at the worst, no sea rougher than a Bombay Hooker; we have not had one gale, one stiff breeze even—we have not had ten minutes rain or cloudy weather, not one minutes fog or haze at any hour to prevent our seeing shore or headland that we were sailing for. With all the injury to our machinery, the Golden Gate is still “within time”—for the propitious calm enabled the engineers to do their work thoroughly as well as with dispatch. I am devoutly thankful—but desire to prove my thankfulness by a little common sense. Never, no, never again on the Sea!

This is my safe guard against the temptation of bringing you, wife, to California. The universal testimony of my fellow passengers, satisfied or dissatisfied with the country in other respects, is in favor of its marvelous climate. But I shall be in the decline of life when I forget what I have suffered—what my dearest Elisha†

*Here Kane appears to be confused pertaining to the route to Salt Lake City.

†It will be recalled that Elisha is Kane's brother.

ever suffered, and how often, before he became a crusader—he vowed he would never again embark upon the Sea.

And now dearest, the night is falling fast, and however reluctant to postpone it no further, I must make my last entry in your little diary.—It humbles me to send it, but scant and dry as it seems on reading it over, I am conscious that you will not have anything more melting or as much so from me again. It may be that my mind has grown too tired and feeble to encourage the play of fancy, but I think it more probable that my grief and love and longings are so sincere, and like the grief of childhood could find no other natural expression than a boohoo cry right out. When I fold my hands at the dedicated hour, and remembering that you are then praying for me, I then find no form of words but; Take all that I have in life: take a tithe even of my wife's attention ah. . . . And so I simply close Good Night, Good By God Bless you and keep you forever! . . .

There was some talk after I had written good by, on page 64,—of our being kept out side the Golden Gate to San Francisco by one of the fogs common here in such pleasant weather. But while they were cooking over it, there sprang up a sharp North wind which dissipated every chance of such a disappointment. The Western sky held bright red till the full moon fully rose: well-known headlands lead us to still better known light houses on "*the Heads*" or *Golden Gate*. And, with the scream of the pursuing sea gulls—hardly fading from my ears—and the feeling of the sea swell rolling under my feet.—I am making arrangements with servants and subsidized personages which Hotel I am going to, and, which noisy cabmen I intend patronizing in the land fast big city whose lamp-lights are already near enough to outshine the feeble wild, moon & stars. Propitious Omens to the latest instant, Dearest: farewell!



Great Salt Lake City in 1853

From Linforth's Route from Liverpool to Great Salt Lake Valley, 1855

★

DIARY II.

★

January 29. 1858. . . . The Kingdom of God cometh not with observation. Neither shall they say lo here! or lo there! for behold, the Kingdom of God is within you.

*12 o'clock—Putting out to Sea from Saint Francisco, Cal.** What a hard good bye to the execrated Sea it was! From the first, the heaviest of swells, with enough wind to keep it up cross with white caps all the way. This is a wretched boat not belonging to the Line brought from Oregon. . . I believe, inspected by Uncle Sam only the day before sailing, and though pronounced seaworthy, unprovided with any of the comfortable appliances of a Regular Boat. But to make it insufferable, she is crowded with U.S. troops, like a stock car with cattle, and the officers chum together in every miserable Stateroom that the other passengers have not enjoyed.—I arrived in S. Francisco about Nine o'clock Thursday night, drove crazily about the strange streets hunting for Mormons two hours before I found one. The Editor of the Standard had gone to Salt Lake from S. Bernadino, driving an ox team. . . . Staid up therefore til One—returned to the dirty frame house called Oriental Hotel—to cat[ch] the supper ordered before I went out. The supper, slices of stale black beef, tallow cheese and cupboard stale soda biscuit. The drink provided, being poisonous, asked for another, and was given other poison. Sat up two hours more, writing home & business letters, and went supperless to a mouldy bed in a little

*It is to be recalled that Kane's ultimate destination is Salt Lake City. He has now made his transfer at San Francisco and is on his way to San Pedro at which point he will make an overland trek to the city of the Mormons.

close press of a room with orders to be called at half past 5. Rose in the dark, and learned that my steamer did *not* go at 6. Kept abed to keep out of the chilling fog which darkened all out of doors. . . . Had time for a cup of coffee, none for an accompanying sour roll & rancid butter—tried to make a few purchases & dispatched a couple more letters, and thus got on board this *Great*—*Republic* at about Nine o'clock. I was probably therefore the last passenger who applied for a berth. We went to a place near where a fort was building, for these troops; and so we are here with these beasts, taking up every sheltered corner on the upper deck—a few of the choicest playing cards, the rest sea sick & disgusting—vomiting & swearing.

I see but few faces that look in the least American. They appear the worst of Irish & the stupidest of Germans. I have heard them two or three times talk of their going against the Mormons. That *we* shd. pay such for butchering our own citizens! . . .

I wrote the above with the last—as I thought it might prove— of one eye. One of my bugaboos when sea sick has been the liability to such an attack as Elisha's; and the day after, and with one of my blinking headaches there came on a numbness, so to describe it, in my left eye which answered every essential purpose of suspending its official functions.—Things grew worse & worse—until they grew better.

I attribute it now to prostration, and want of sleep. I had obtained leave after 11 last night to sling my hammock in a sort of little round house next the tiller of the boat. I congratulated myself I was well off for fifteen minutes after my great work was complete and I got into my hanging bower. After the lapse of that time however a kind of little warning let me know my danger in time to save my self. A sharp crack told of the first giving way of the ceil-

ing beam which was the only wood to which I cd. make fast. I was therefore only too well satisfied to lie on the floor the rest of the night. That was a lovely night! . . . The next day opened—or tried to open with a fog. The night had been quiet and I had a decent mattress in the cabin. The announcement that we were near S. Pedro too satisfied me and I went down into the hold to look up my strong luggage. . . .

I could not, my dear one, continue the feeble jottings down from on horseback. . . .

March 28. 1858. And now behold my first Sunday—the first time since I embraced this work, that I have heard the Order to Halt & Stand at Ease. I have returned from a trip on which I was *successful in making the arrangements for introducing Governor C.* into the Valley*, with the feeling that I have now done my last utmost, and may leave the future to a less finite Power.—It shall prove for me if there is any God—other than that which nailed Him to the Cross—whose groans are still heard.

This day I might indulge in journalizing for my darling, but I have not given me a holiday from *Duty*, and [one] commands me to rest my wearing being utterly. . . .

I put on my day clothes the one clean change—early, this morning: I anticipated enjoying it so much.—But this must be more wearing than that which I have been confronting.—Homesickness, Fears for them all—and, oh, my griefs, my griefs!

—May I but return before this has changed me and I seem to the dear ones another than myself!—Elisha, my dear Elisha.

I made one of the Qrmaster's men tie me in my tent from the outside—to keep me from intruders while I lay down—and my tears fell till sun down into the cups with which I held the cold

*Cumming.

water against my frost bitten cheeks. I then arose—prayed to the memory of my Prince, and, asking forgiveness for my regrets, promised my best to *keep strong* and not to think of returning home before I saw plainly it was my duty.

I ought to regret if my adventurous service is ending, for another reason. I am evidently the child of a more heathen day than my dear wife and the saintly to whom her life most naturally belongs. But, in my coarser way—while I am for Good's sake spending my time among rude risks—I think I lift my heart as high to heaven as theirs. This is the discipline adapted for my nature, and I should have more of it. I should live in the stone fortress on the Rocks of the moon till the “change of some kind comes over me.”—Now, I am but on the *mournful journey*, through the wild tangled paths of the snow clad valleys.

—This passage of my darling's book came into my mind on Thursday, just after I had recovered the trail and saw the storm approaching—the *magical* storm I called it—which soon broke on me in such wicked blindness.—Until it compelled an active struggle with the danger it threatened it was a grand & solemn enactment productive of the highest poetical impression.

Doing nothing now which it will interest anyone to read the record of—it is time that I shd. like others make entries in my Diary. Well, Monday & Tuesday have been devoted to tasks connected with striking the tents for a removal from Camp Scot to Camp Bridger—and running conversation with the Governor.—(protracted to 12 last night). He will go with me to the Salt Lake. Identified as Robt. Williams, best preacher & Oath ready. In the evening a good dip. . . .

Wednesday Mar . 31. Called on Col. Johnston and endeavored to induce him to review his decision respecting the mails. Gave him

my mind also about the Indian matter. When he told me what he had said to Little Soldier, congratulated him at not having given that Little Traitor any thing to misrepresent in a garbled form as he undoubtedly wd. otherwise to his friends the Mormons. At which understood thrust he winced. All civil however. . . .

Thursday April 1. Draughted letter to President. . . . And with this entry I close this book—which if anyone as young as I was 10 years ago could read and understand—understand what thoughts were in my mind when some remarks were made in it, what when the many more were omitted concerning things better meriting remembrance but which could not be trusted to it—I think that too truthful picture of a passage of hours life—in one man's life and a great nation's history wd. overpower him & surely he wd. break his heart or he wd. blaspheme.

GREAT SALT LAKE CITY

MAY 10. 1858. 11 PM



FIVE HUNDRED
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